



THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

JOHN KNOWLES PAINE

By M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE

THIS year of 1939 is the hundredth since the birth of John Knowles Paine, organist, composer, and pioneer of higher education in the field of music in America. Instead of *A Patriarch*, perhaps he should be called *The Patriarch of American Music*. Certainly the word *American* commands a strong emphasis, for among the musicians of his day there were none, of an eminence comparable with his, who could lay so clear a claim, through birth and ancestry, to the designation "American". A centennial recognition of his place in the history of American music seems therefore quite in order.

Paine was born in Portland, Maine, on January 9, 1839. His family, long established on Cape Cod, had come to Maine while it was still a District of Massachusetts. They settled at Standish near Sebago Lake in what came to be known as the "Paine neighborhood". A family of Yankee musicians seems anomalous against such a background, but Maine has always been the home of individuality. Here it was expressed by Paine's grandfather, John K. H. Paine, who combined art, one may hope, with ingenuity in the building of organs. Whether a source of local pride or of local distress, one of these instruments, built in 1828, could be heard for two miles through the forests of the region. Its sonorities were transferred to a Baptist Church in Portland, where it was accessible to the builder's grandson before its destruction by fire in 1866.

Paine's father, Jacob S. Paine—son of the organ-builder—, assembled and directed the first band in Portland, besides opening a music-store there. An uncle, David Paine, became a music teacher in

the same place, where Paine's oldest sister Helen was a church singer and a teacher of both piano and voice. Paine himself may be said to have been born into a Down-East nest of singing-birds. After all had not Longfellow piped his first songs in Portland, and when the time came—in our own century—to restore the house in which he was born, was it not from the house in which Paine was born that a doorway of suitable dignity and beauty was taken to enrich the restoration? Both Longfellow and Paine would have relished this symbol of a common approach to poetry and music.

The idea of Portland as a nursery of music derives some force from the full name of Cyrus H. K. Curtis, father of Louise Curtis Bok, founder of the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia. The initials "H.K." are significant with respect both to Curtis and to Paine. They represent the name of an accomplished musician, Hermann Kotzschmar, who came from Germany to America with the Saxonia Band in 1848. Stranded in Boston, he was encountered there by Cyrus L. Curtis, a visitor from Maine, who befriended him even to the extent of bringing him to Portland for the practice of his art. Two years later, in 1850, Cyrus Curtis became the father of a son, to whom, in token of the intimacy between the Portland man of business and the German musician, he gave the name of Cyrus Hermann Kotzschmar Curtis. In the City Hall of Portland the "Kotzschmar Organ" and a bust of Hermann Kotzschmar, the gifts of Cyrus H. K. Curtis, bear witness to an inherited admiration.

If Kotzschmar bred in the Curtis who carried on his name a general love of music, he exerted an influence on Paine more nearly related to the beginnings of a lifelong pursuit. While Paine was still a Portland schoolboy he began the study of music under Kotzschmar. In "Music and Musicians of Maine" (1928), by George Thornton Edwards, the early results of these studies are set forth, together with other matters still to be mentioned. At sixteen Paine wrote a string quartet; at eighteen he made his first public appearance as an organist, and played the organ at a performance of the "Messiah" in a Portland church. Germany was the natural goal for a pupil of Kotzschmar's, and early in 1858 Paine was giving a course of three subscription organ concerts, to raise money for completing his musical education abroad. Before he was twenty he went to Germany, where for three years he studied the organ and composition at Berlin under the best masters of the time, attaining a proficiency in playing the organ that qualified him

to appear as a virtuoso performer in Berlin before his return to America in 1861. His enthusiasm for the instrument of his choice was recognized in New England even before his return, for while he was still in Germany he was in a position to further the completion of the "Great Organ" that was installed in the Music Hall of Boston in 1863, to the wonder and delight of a community in which music held an important place.

Paine's special master in Berlin, Carl August Haupt, a devotee of Bach, had charged his pupil with zeal for that monarch of music for the organ. When the "Great Organ" was dedicated on November 2, 1863, Paine, not yet twenty-five years old, was the first of six organists on the musical program, and played Bach's Grand Toccata in F and Trio Sonata in E-flat. He was "placed" for the audience as "Organist at the West Church, Boston, and Musical Instructor at Harvard University". Immediately upon his return from Germany, two years before this, he had been acclaimed as an organist of the first importance. In *Dwight's Journal of Music* for August 24, 1861, a report of the *Boston Musical Times* on an organ concert he had just given in his native Portland is quoted: "He is a missionary of Bach, and Bach has no more enthusiastic a worshiper, nor so admirable an interpreter in the United States or Disunited States of America." The same concert prompted the *Portland Transcript* to declare of Paine: "The result of his years of study abroad was quite apparent. The clever boy who went forth from among us has returned a thoroughly educated and accomplished musician." It is no wonder that he secured without delay the post of organist in the historic West Church, of which the minister, the Rev. Cyrus A. Bartol, had not yet acquired the venerable aspect that is said to have won him from Phillips Brooks the sobriquet of "a moth-eaten angel".

The second designation of Paine as "Musical Instructor in Harvard University" gave him a title which in 1863 still possessed the charm of freshness. His name had appeared for the first time in the Harvard College Catalogue for 1862-63. There he was called "Instructor in Music", and the only allusion to his subject of instruction was the following paragraph:

Vocal Music

Instruction in Music, with special reference to the devotional services in the Chapel, is open to all undergraduates. Separate classes for Graduates will be formed if desired.

In a few preceding catalogues similar instruction was promised under one Levi Parsons Homer. It is worth noting that Paine's modest beginnings as a teacher of music at Harvard occurred at the very time when Thomas Hill, grandfather of Professor Edward Burlingame Hill of Harvard, was beginning the six years of his presidency of the University. It is also noteworthy that his successor, Charles W. Eliot, to whose encouragement and support the future opportunities of Paine were to owe so much, was himself the son of the Mayor of Boston, Samuel A. Eliot, who caused the teaching of music to be introduced into the public schools of the city during his administration, 1837-39. The names both of Hill and of Eliot thus betoken something of continuity with respect to Paine.

It would be superfluous to trace the gradual extension of Paine's functions as a teacher at Harvard. Suffice it to say that when the College Catalogue for 1871-72 appeared there was this indication of an enlarged scope for Paine's teaching: under "Elections for Juniors" appeared the statement,

VIII. Music

Theory of music—(Harmony—Counterpoint and Choral Figuration.—Free Composition.—Song, march, dance, and rondo forms).

The Elective in Music is open also to Seniors and Sophomores. Students who take this Elective are required to show, by a previous examination, that they are competent to pursue it.

Obviously there was, by this time, a demand in the College for a much larger provision of instruction in music than when Paine began his teaching, and he was meeting this demand. The fact was recognized in 1873 by his appointment as Assistant Professor of Music. The term represented a rank rather than a function, for the manifest reason that Paine had nobody to assist. In 1875 he became Professor of Music, and retained this title, and the work pertaining to the post, until his death in 1906. It was also in 1875 that Charles Eliot Norton was appointed Professor of the History of Art at Harvard. The flowering of the New England college did not occur in music only.

Between Paine's return from Germany in 1861 and the beginning of his full professorship in 1875 many things happened to him. One of the most fortunate of these was his marriage to Mary Elizabeth Greeley, of Boston, whose father was a Portland merchant. This was the happiest of unions, beginning on what is called a "shoestring" and

continuing through all the ampler years of Paine's life. A nephew, quoted by George Thornton Edwards, has written about it:

His wife cared for him as for a child. She stood between him and the world. He was a guileless, trusting man, living in his own world of music and of friendship, wholly unaware of the schemes and selfishness that surrounded him. She managed the household. She kept him from interruption when he was composing. She husbanded his small salary and made it answer all needs. She entertained his friends, and widened his circle constantly. She fought his battles for him, dictated the terms of his contracts, defended him before the President and faculty of the college, and saw that the furnace was attended to, and the house painted at the proper time.

Fortunate the musician with such a wife! Other gifts of good fortune attended him. In 1866-67 he made an artistic tour of Germany, and in Berlin conducted a performance of his Mass in D, an important composition of these earlier years, before an audience containing members of the royal family. Before the end of 1867 a number of his friends in Boston and Cambridge—including President Hill of Harvard, Benjamin Pierce, the mathematician, Lowell, Longfellow, and Paine's elder brother in music, B. J. Lang—issued a call for the performance of the D Minor Mass in the Boston Music Hall, where it was performed in the spring of 1868. His friends were becoming legion. Among the most devoted was John Fiske, the historian, an accomplished amateur of music. When Paine's Oratorio of St. Peter was performed in Portland, on June 3, 1873, Fiske declared "Mr. Paine's oratorio has fairly earned for itself the right to be judged by the same high standard which we apply to these noble works [the "Messiah", "Elijah", and "St. Paul"] of Mendelssohn and Händel." A critic in the *Nation* deplored Paine's having written an oratorio instead of a symphony. That, however, was soon to come, for in 1876—to pass for a moment into the period of Paine's full professorship at Harvard—his Symphony in C Minor was performed by Theodore Thomas's Orchestra in the Boston Music Hall. Again his friend John Fiske expressed himself—in the *Atlantic Monthly* of June 1876:

On summing up the matter, it seems unquestionable that in this work Mr. Paine has shown himself strong in all the qualities which one expects to find in a great composer. In his easy mastery of the minutest details of counterpoint we recognize the devoted student of Bach. His work is distinguished by a clearness and conciseness of form which Mendelssohn has hardly surpassed, while it has much of that virile strength in which Mendelssohn fell short of Schumann.

Contemporary approval could hardly go farther—unless indeed, taking another step beyond 1875, we remind ourselves of the reception

accorded to Paine's Second Symphony, "Im Frühling", first performed under Theodore Thomas in 1880. "An account of it is extant", wrote Richard Aldrich, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, "relating how ladies waved handkerchiefs, men shouted in approbation, and the highly respected John S. Dwight, arbiter in Boston of criticism, if not of manners, stood in his seat frantically opening and shutting his umbrella as an expression of uncontrollable enthusiasm." In the light of such an episode from the past, and of far more recent demonstrations in the present Symphony Hall, the reputation of Boston audiences for coldness seems not wholly just.

The major compositions of Paine's that have been mentioned were preceded by "President Lincoln: A Funeral March", written at Lincoln's death. A still earlier composition, in the lightest possible vein, speaks for a tendency towards humorous fooling to which Paine was addicted. Written in 1863, it may have been a naive attempt to relieve the tension of the Civil War days. It was the setting—for male chorus with bass solo—of the testimonial advertisement of a popular remedy of the day, "Radway's Ready Relief". Under this title it was sung by the Apollo Club of Boston. "Always ask for Radway's Ready Relief, take no other! Price per bottle twenty-five cents." Such were a few of the words subjected to Paine's elaborate treatment. This may have been funny in its day, but when the Mendelssohn Glee Club of New York included the song in a program of a later year, one critic ("H. H.") found it inducive, as he said, to an emotion of profound melancholy. "If 'Radway's Ready Relief' possesses the medical value which Mr. Paine claims for it, it would be a good thing for him to saturate himself freely with it before he writes another song. But for the Mendelssohn Glee Club the kindest advice is to avoid 'Radway's Ready Relief', and thereby get rid of pain." The critic may not have remembered that Paine wrote this song when barely past twenty-one.

He had held his full professorship only half a dozen years when, in 1881, he co-operated in an academic enterprise that covered Harvard with glory at the time. This was the presentation, in Greek, under the auspices of the Greek Department, of the "Oedipus Tyrannus" of Sophocles. Paine wrote the music for this rendering of the classic drama. His lectures and, later, his "History of Music to the Death of Schubert" gave ample evidence that he knew enough about the music of the ancients to have tried his hand at reproducing it

for modern ears. Instead of this he adopted, for his orchestral prelude and choruses, the classical forms of his own day. The result was powerfully impressive at the time. Even as late as 1894, when the Prelude was revived by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, a local critic placed the works of Paine "upon the highest plane of composition," standing "side by side with the works of Beethoven and Schumann." Alas for the passing years! When the "Oedipus" choruses were sung by the Harvard Alumni Chorus and the Sinfonia Glee Club under Chadwick at Jordan Hall, some forty years after their first production, the word of so competent an authority as H. T. Parker of the *Transcript*, with respect to Paine, was this: "The composer was no genius. Rather he followed the best models and the orthodox procedures of his tonal time. Yet therewith, and in a commissioned piece for an occasion, he devised, designed, knitted, and rounded—a musician of substance and skill."

The contrasts between contemporaneous and later opinion, with regard to the value of Paine's work as a composer might be illustrated by many quotations. In his lifetime it was asserted that he "must bear the penalty of being an American, and also of being alive"; he must put himself beneath a tombstone; "fifty years hence musical historians will say that American classical music began with John K. Paine." What Richard Aldrich wrote, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, almost precisely fifty years after this prophecy, was as follows:

The best of Paine's works show fertility, a genuine warmth and spontaneity of invention, and a fine harmonic feeling, as well as a sure touch in the organization of form, and skill in instrumentation. It cannot be said that in any real sense they disclose "American" characteristics; Paine's musicianship was purely a product of European influences, as indeed was inevitable in his day and for a good while thereafter. His larger compositions lost their place on orchestral or choral programs. With all their individual charm, sometimes power and impressiveness, they have not shown the vitality of great works of genius.

It would have been only human in Paine to prefer remembrance as a composer than as a teacher and as a stimulus to later scholars and creators in music. The works that have been touched upon represent but a fraction of his total production. There were, besides, symphonic poems, cantatas, even, finally, an opera, "Azara", for which he wrote both the music and the libretto—in heroic couplets. This special object of his interest and pride never achieved production on the stage. His high place among American composers was attested

in special commissions—to set a poem of Whittier's to music for the opening of the Centennial Exposition of 1876; to compose the music for Woodberry's "Song of Promise" for the Cincinnati Festival of 1888; to produce for the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 a "Columbian March and Hymn"; and to set Stedman's "Hymn of the West" to music for the St. Louis Exposition of 1904. What American composer has received a fuller meed of recognition in his lifetime? Nor was this recognition confined to his own country. In 1903 he visited Berlin as the official delegate of Harvard at the Wagner Festival, where, besides receiving a gold medal, he heard the prelude to his "Oedipus" played in an international concert.

When we come to the debt of posterity to Paine, there can be little question that his work as a pioneer of higher education in music entitles him to a position of distinction. In the words of his friend John Fiske: "It is due to him that music has been put on the same level with philosophy, science, and classical philology, counting as much towards the degrees of Master of Arts or Doctor of Philosophy." If this was merely an academic achievement, it was not easy to accomplish. His subject of music, to borrow the words of his whole-hearted supporter, President Eliot, was "not especially congenial to the evolved or opened-out Puritans who for a hundred years have had the management of Harvard College." So enlightened a member of the Harvard Corporation as the historian, Francis Parkman, is reputed to have said more than once at meetings of that inner governing body, when measures of economy were under discussion, *musica delenda est*. Yet music escaped the fate of Carthage, and more than to anyone else the credit is due to Paine for the status of music as an element in advanced education, not only at Harvard but in many another American college and university.

For the substance of his teaching one may look today at the printed Lecture Notes (1885) for his Harvard course on the History of Music, and at his posthumous volume, "The History of Music to the Death of Schubert" (1907). These afford substantial, not to say somewhat heavy, reading. The sound of Paine's voice, his enthusiasm for his art, his faith in the classics, all declare themselves in an Inaugural Lecture delivered in October, 1872, at Boston University, in which, from 1872 to 1877, he held, besides his Harvard positions, the chair of "Composition, Musical History, and Aesthetics". Many passages in this address reflect his ideals of music. To cite a single

instance: "The technics of music, like Wagner, Liszt, and their adherents, have become so extremely involved and complicated, both in composition and performance that there must soon be a healthy reaction. The only hope for the present and future is the adherence to the historical forms, as developed by Bach, Händel, Mozart, and Beethoven, in church music, the oratorio, opera, and instrumental music."

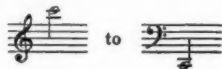
That was in 1872. When Paine's admiring pupil Henry T. Finck, who graduated from Harvard in 1876 published, in 1926, "My Adventures in the Golden Age of Music", he recalled his acute disagreement, while in college, with Paine regarding Wagner, and was proud to quote from a letter he received from Paine in 1882: "I want to take this opportunity to say that my opinions regarding Wagner and his theories have been modified since you were in College. I consider him a great genius who has had a wonderful influence on the present day. I will reserve my ideas on this subject until we meet."

The affectionate memories carried away from Harvard by the students of music under Paine were indicated by a recent letter from one of them about "dear old Paine". They like to remember his puns, and perhaps the disciple who recalled his saying that one scene in "Azara" required four trumpets in the orchestra and four strumpets on the stage might regard it as too informal for print. Another remembers that when Paine illustrated a lecture by playing on the piano, and came to an ascending run, he would always whistle it himself, and the class, watching eagerly for its opportunity, would join *ensemble* in the whistling. Two composers who were his pupils have most kindly given me the benefit of their own remembrances. One of them, Mr. Frederick S. Converse, recalls especially "his kindly help in our struggles with problems of musical form, his encouragement if we chanced to hit upon a good idea, and his real enthusiasm in the working out of such ideas"; his occasional, but memorable, organ playing for the class in one of the Cambridge churches; his naive delight in his own compositions. "He did not mind pointing out the superiority of certain features in his opera, 'Azara' over certain features in 'Tannhäuser'. . . . Then his sleepy lectures in musical history, in which he frequently bent forward over the desk until his nose almost touched it." In later years this younger musician took him to the races at the Brookline Country Club, where "his great pleasure in seeing the people as well as horses and the gen-

eral gaiety was very spontaneous and sincere. He was a genial and kindly soul."

Another pupil, Mr. John Alden Carpenter, acknowledges a deep gratitude and lasting debt to Paine. Thus, in more detail, he writes;

I find that it is difficult to recapture anything of my contacts with "J. K." beyond rather vague impressions of a cheerful but reluctant teacher, full of pessimism as to his pupils, and filled with a fine defiance of the necessities which prevented him from getting on with his own creative work. I was fortunate to be under his guidance when he was in the throes of *delivering* the last pages of his opera, and there were magnificent moments watching those stubby fingers and marvelling at that "composer's voice" struggling with "Azara" and her companions from



And these moments were sometimes followed by tea during which J. K. produced some of his favorite puns and pretended to be unaware of the sweet and peaceful presence of Mrs. J. K. whom we all, and he, adored.

And when I saw him for the last time in June of '97 he walked out with me to his gate, and as I turned to go, he threw at me over his shoulder as a parting admonition; "Better change your mind about going into *that business!*"

Touching the puns of Paine to which allusion has been made, let it be said in passing that at least on one occasion he showed himself both a musical and a verbal punster. A "Birthday Impromptu" in Paine's manuscript, "Given to the Boston Public Library by Dr. John W. Farlow", bears the superscription "A Mon Ami", followed immediately by a downward pointing hand, beneath which appears the notation



It is needed only to remember how such a Yankee as Paine would have eliminated the second consonant in *Farlow*.

Three of Paine's pupils at Harvard have been cited by name. A list of all the composers, critics, and scholars in music who fell under his influence there would make an imposing catalogue. Arthur Foote, Clayton Johns, Walter R. Spalding, Thomas W. Surette, Edward Burlingame Hill—these are but a few out of the many whose lives have been given to music. There is besides an uncountable host of pupils for whom an appreciation of music, nourished first of all by him, has been a life-long enrichment. Then too there are the students since his day, even into this very present, who have been taught by

musical scholars taught by him. *Musica delenda est?* Far from it. The work which Paine began, as a teacher of music in its highest ranges, goes on not merely where it was undertaken but wherever, throughout the land, the value of music as an element in a rounded, liberal education is recognized.

One would like to follow Paine out among his non-academic friends. The letters of Celia Thaxter give an inkling of what would be found. Paine came to the Isles of Shoals for a week, and stayed for six or more. "Though he did not intend to play, and I never asked him", wrote the poet-hostess of Appledore, "he found out how much it was to me, and played to me hours every day. I cannot tell you what it was to me."

The kindness and largeness of his heart, the simplicity and sincerity of his nature, made him a focus of friendship and affection. He died in Cambridge on April 25, 1906.

VICTOR HARTMANN AND MODESTE MUSORGSKY

By ALFRED FRANKENSTEIN

ALTHOUGH the life and works of Victor Alexandrovitch Hartmann are discussed in various biographical dictionaries and in histories of Russian art, the world at large remembers this architect, watercolorist, and designer solely because of his connection with a piece of music, the celebrated "Pictures at an Exhibition" of Modeste Musorgsky.

It is common knowledge that Hartmann was a friend of Musorgsky's; that he died in 1873 at the age of thirty-nine; that in the year after his death Vladimir Stassov arranged a memorial exhibition of his works; and that this exhibition was visited by Musorgsky, who wrote the ten musical sketches of his suite after pictures he had seen in the Hartmann memorial show. Beyond these bare facts, very little information concerning the artist is available in writings about music. None of the investigators who have written about Musorgsky indicate that they have ever seen a picture by Hartmann, and one of them, Mr. Montagu-Nathan, implies that all his works are lost. Stassov's incomplete and somewhat ambiguous description of the pictures dealt with by Musorgsky, reprinted in most editions of the music as a "program" or foreword, has been accepted as the ultimate source of information concerning what Musorgsky saw, and no effort has been made to get at Hartmann's originals.

I have been able to obtain from various sources a considerable number of photographs of pictures by Hartmann, some of which inspired various movements in Musorgsky's suite. Others, while not described in Musorgsky's music, were exhibited in Stassov's memorial show and throw some light on the pictures limned in tone by Musorgsky but no longer available. The entire group of reproductions gives one a remarkably vivid sense of Hartmann's artistic personality and of the exhibition as a whole, and illuminates in most fascinating fashion the background of a piece of music that has become, especially since its orchestration by Ravel, a classic. Some of my friends, on seeing the reproductions for the first time, have expressed disappointment—Musorgsky had led them to expect some-



Victor Alexandrovich Hartmann

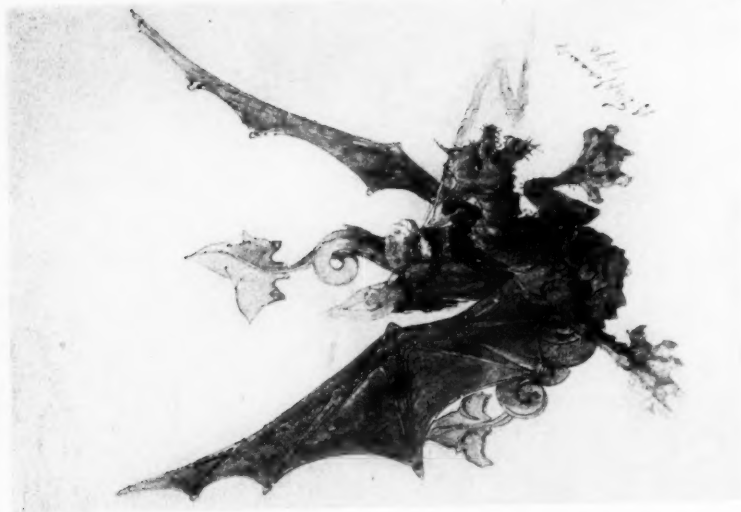
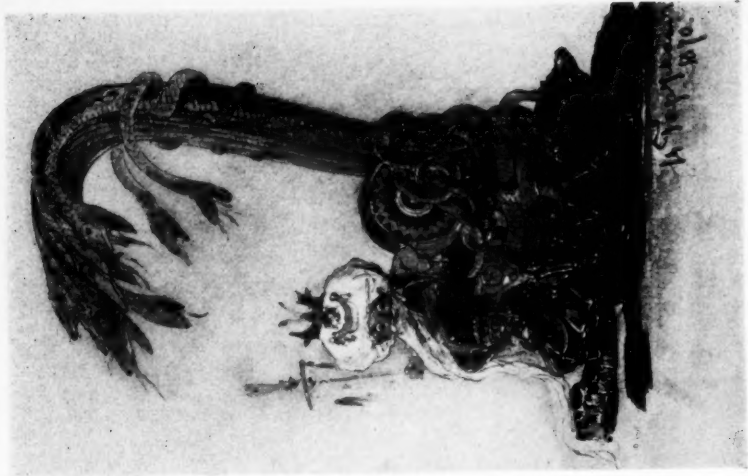
Engraving from a photograph

(From the magazine, *Pchelka*, No. 2, 1875)



Design for the ballet *Trilbi:*
Chick in Shell

(From Hartmann's original in the Institute of Literature, Leningrad)



Three of V. A. Hartmann's Sketches for Glinka's "Russlan and Ludmilla"
 1. Chernomor; 2. Chernomor and Ludmilla on the Back of a Dragon; 3. Chernomor on his Throne
 (From originals in the Institute of Literature, Leningrad)

thing grander and stronger. Yet whatever disappointment one may experience on first acquaintance with Hartmann's work is amply compensated for by the insight it provides into the imaginative and creative processes whereby the visual conceptions of a man of talent may be turned into the tonal conceptions of a man of genius.

Some of my pictures come from various archives in Moscow and Leningrad and have never been published before.¹ Others come from Russian books and periodicals of the 1860's and 70's, and have not been reprinted since. It is apparently impossible to obtain now anything remotely approaching a complete "*œuvre*" of Hartmann, or even a complete group of reproductions of his ten pictures immortalized by Musorgsky, and the reason is not far to seek.

Hartmann, like Musorgsky, was what the Russian critics call "a man of the 60's". The phrase refers to that period in Russian life when, under the influence of liberal tendencies in the social and political fabric of the country, artists in every medium sought the materials of a distinctively Slavonic renaissance in peasant handicraft, folk-song, folk-tales, the daily life of the contemporary world, and the traditions of mediaeval Russia. This movement produced the Balakirev circle, of whom Musorgsky was the greatest and most uncompromisingly "Russian". It also produced many great literary men, most notably Gogol. Its most important painter was Repin, its most important sculptor Antokolsky, and its most important architects Gornostaiev, Ropett, and Hartmann. Standing at the center of the whole, as critic, propagandist, apologist, and historian, was the protean Stassov, the Russian Hunecker of the 19th century.

Unfortunately for amateur aestheticians and enthusiastic founders of general art movements, the fine arts are not varied manifestations of basic, unified, general ideas; and correspondences between the arts do not often strike much below the surfaces of things. An idea that may be perfectly valid in literature or the drama may be completely

¹ I should like to thank the many persons without whose assistance the present article would not have been possible. Most important of these are the Messrs. Moissaye Galkovitch, Nicolai Aliavdin, and Gregory Gokhman, successive consuls-general of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in San Francisco, the various officials of the Anglo-American Department of the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries at Moscow, of the State Tretyakovsky Gallery in Moscow, and of the Institute of Literature in Leningrad, and Mr. Oleg Maslenikov of the University of California, whose untiring labors as translator from the Russian provided the writer with an indispensable eye. Dr. Avraham Yarmolinsky, of the New York Public Library, also provided indispensable materials and assistance.

invalid in music or painting, and to proceed in all the arts from a common central purpose does not always produce results of equal importance in each department. Russian nationalism achieved masterpieces in literature and in those phases of music closely allied to literature—program music, opera, song—but it achieved far less greatly in “pure music”, and in the visual arts.

In architecture, the field of Hartmann's main endeavor, the nationalist movement meant mainly elaborate, fantastic, and, at least from the modern viewpoint, impractical and useless ornamentation. It contributed little or nothing in the way of the adaptation of structure to use, which is the main purpose of architecture; rather it substituted for classical decoration, decoration taken from mediaeval Slavonic and contemporary folk motives; it removed the columns and pilasters and supplanted them with carved fans, cocks, and colored tiles in ornate patterns, but it offered no real solutions to essential problems of building. So it was that most of Hartmann's effort was directed towards purely decorative and often ephemeral things—buildings for fairs, commemorative monuments, and so on.

Hartmann won some prizes and some general recognition, but was accepted whole-heartedly only by Stasov among the authoritative critics of his period. One cannot agree with Stasov's frequent allegations that the opposition to Hartmann was solely the product of ignorance, conservatism, and lack of imagination; one suspects, rather, in reading Stasov's extensive writings on Hartmann that he was too eager to see excellent achievement where there was really only a new intention, that, in his desire to witness a Russian nationalist school of architecture born and flourishing, he “whooped it up” for Hartmann a little more than the man's accomplishment warranted. And still it must be admitted that Hartmann's architectural ideas were at least striking. In their own time, surrounded largely by an architecture content to repeat sterile, foreign, and ancient motives, they were unquestionably more appealing and challenging than they seem today.

A curious bad luck lurked round nearly every corner of Hartmann's architectural career. Many of the projects with which he won the acclaim of Stasov and others—such as the famous Great Gate of Kiev—were never realized in the construction. Many others, as pointed out above, were purely temporary or ephemeral. The only architectural work by Hartmann that can with surety be said to be

standing at the present time is the Russian Millenary Monument erected at Novgorod, now called Gorki, in 1862, and this is an early, entirely conventional structure, in no way characteristic of his mature style. (It was, incidentally, for the unveiling of this that Balakirev wrote his beautiful and sinfully neglected tone-poem, *Russia*.)

Hartmann's work as a designer of handicraft—lamps, presentation cups, picture frames, etc.—was likewise largely ephemeral, as was his stage designing. His most famous stage work, consisting of the costumes and settings for the Petipa ballet *Trilbi*, was employed in but one performance. His watercolors, mostly slight, deft sketches of everyday life or studies of foreign architectural monuments, have much charm, but they were insufficiently powerful or original to call for their preservation in any great numbers.

Thus the Hartmann Memorial Exhibition of 1874 was largely the result of Stassov's single-handed enthusiasm, although Stassov was assisted by Count Paul Suzor, president of the St. Petersburg Architectural Association. Many pictures in the exhibition were lent by private owners, and these were presumably returned when it closed. Many others were sold at the exhibition itself, and no one can tell where most of them may be at the present time, after the passage of more than sixty years, and after the Russian social upheaval of 1917. After Hartmann's death the artistic world gradually lost interest in him and nothing of his has been exhibited since 1874, except a few pictures said to have been shown at the Leningrad Public Library in connection with the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of Musorgsky's death, in 1931. Interest in Musorgsky's suite, which might have helped to preserve Hartmann's works, did not spread until many years too late. The music was not published until 1886 and did not attain its present widespread popularity until it was orchestrated by Ravel in 1922.

Consequently of the four hundred Hartmann works displayed before Musorgsky's gaze in 1874, not more than sixty-five can be found today. With a few unimportant exceptions, the fifty-six Hartmann reproductions now in the writer's collection represent everything by the artist to be found in any archive or library in Europe or America. Doubtless many of his pictures are still cherished in private collections that cannot be reached, and one of the purposes of this article is to get at them so that a Hartmann archive as complete as possible may be assembled, perhaps eventuating in an illus-

trated edition of Musorgsky's music. A list of the writer's Hartmann materials and their sources will be given later. Before turning to the pictures themselves, some little study of the interesting and amiable personality of their creator is in order.

The chief source of information concerning Hartmann is Stasov, in whose "Collected Works" (St. Petersburg, 1894) one may find enough material for a good sized book on the artist alone. A list of Stasov's articles on Hartmann, and of other bibliographical materials, will be given on pp. 290-1; in what follows here the reader is asked to assume that the source is Stasov unless otherwise noted.

Victor Alexandrovitch Hartmann was born April 23 (old style), 1834, in St. Petersburg. His father was an army doctor. Both his parents died before he was four years old, and he was brought up by an aunt, Luisa Ivanovna Gemilian, wife of a well known St. Petersburg architect and a former lady-in-waiting to the tsarina. Through the influence of Mme. Gemilian, Hartmann was admitted at the age of twelve to the Imperial Academy of Mines, where he distinguished himself mainly by drawing sharp, malicious caricatures of his teachers. After six years of this he was withdrawn from the Mining Academy and placed in the Academy of Fine Arts.

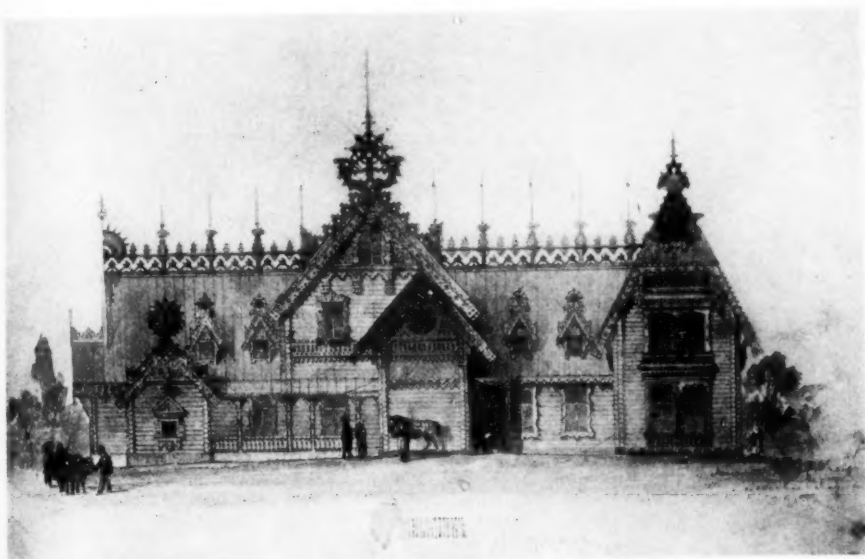
Here his progress was extremely rapid and fruitful, both in painting and architecture. He won many prizes, one for a project, completed in only a single evening's work, that prophesied the famous Kiev gate to come. This was for a monument to an architect. Hartmann solved the problem presented, with an enormous Corinthian capital set on a column that appeared to be almost completely sunk into the ground, upon which was placed a bust of the dead man.

In 1862 he left the Academy, having won its highest awards, and embarked upon his professional career. Previous prizemen of the Academy had gone abroad for four years at government expense immediately upon graduation, but beginning in 1862 the regulations were changed to require two years of practical work at home before the foreign tour began. Consequently Hartmann did not leave Russia until 1864. It was during the interval (in 1862) that he designed the architectural portion of the Russian Millenary Monument (reproduced opposite) but the credit for the entire project went to the sculptor Mikeschin. Mikeschin had won his fame as a painter of battle scenes. The Millenary Monument was his first



Russian Millenary Monument
at Novgorod (now Gorki), 1862

Architecture by Hartmann; Sculpture by Mikeshin
(From Report of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts for 1862)



Hartmann's Project for a Country House near Kirejevo
(The Mamontov Residence where Hartmann died, July 23, 1873)
(From original in the Institute of Literature, Leningrad)



Hartmann's Project
for the City Gate of Kiev
(From original in the Institute of Literature, Leningrad)

piece of sculpture, and according to Stassov he entrusted to other hands as much of the task as he could. The work, says Stassov, "was planned and erected on the order of a vaudeville script; someone will conceive the general scheme, another the dialogue, a third the verses, etc." At all events Mikeshin had very little to do with this construction, but the whole thing is by no means a triumph, and those denied credit for their assistance in putting it up had no cause to be distraught with jealousy. That it remains Hartmann's only surviving building is unfortunate, yet the world at large may be thankful for its existence because of the lovely tone-poem Balakirev composed for the unveiling ceremonies. If this article does nothing more than call attention to *Russia*, I shall feel well paid for my trouble.

Beside working on the Novgorod monument, Hartmann was busy as a wood engraver during the period 1862-64, preparing illustrations for books issued by the St. Petersburg publisher, Hohenfelder. Among his most frequently discussed achievements at this time is his mural painting in a private home in St. Petersburg for which his uncle, Gemilian, was the architect.

In 1864 Hartmann married and went abroad. From this period date most of his watercolors and *genre* sketches, including no less than six of the ten pictures immortalized by Musorgsky. Three of his four years abroad were spent in France, especially in Paris, Limoges, and Périgueux, but he also visited Italy, Germany, and Poland. He painted and photographed innumerable cathedrals and other masterpieces of architecture, and, as all who know Musorgsky can testify, his brush was not idle as regards the contemporary life about him. (See the reproductions opposite pp. 284-5.) Plans for restorations of ancient buildings, which graduate Russian architects were then supposed to send back to the Academy, did not appeal to him. He preferred more practical experience, such as living for a month with the railroad employees at Issoudun and studying the problems of railroad architecture, but he did submit one restoration, that of an ancient Roman amphitheater near Périgueux. One reads also of his designing jewelry in Paris and being offered a permanent position in a jeweler's establishment, and of assisting, at the recommendation of French architects, with the English exhibit at the Paris World's Fair of 1867.

Hartmann returned to St. Petersburg in 1868, and shortly after

was invited to participate in the decoration and construction of the All-Russian Manufacturing Exposition held in the Russian capital in 1870. This was his first big achievement, and for it he drew more than six hundred sketches and plans. Stasov describes in rhapsodical terms "the magnificent halls supported by fanciful semi-Russian, semi-Oriental columns, with carved capitals and seemingly embroidered friezes", the "booths, pyramids and cottages and wonderful little hodge-podges, and tiny temples remindful of the old Russian church style, and heaps of barrels, grouped with rare beauty and originality", to say nothing of the "tapestries, colored roosters, carved ice skates, the giant candle, the huge glass hat, and the star made of rubber galoshes and other rubber goods." It was all, in Stasov's view, the product of "a fountain of genius", yet the only thing that seems to remain from this exhibition is a design for a booth. Although Stasov rails at Hartmann's lack of recognition in connection with this work, the architect was raised to the rank of Academician because of it.

In 1869, while at work upon the manufacturing exhibition, Hartmann entered a competition for a gateway to be erected at Kiev in commemoration of what Russian writers of the period, working under the watchful eye of the Imperial censor, refer to circumspectly as "the event of April 4, 1866". (On that date the Emperor Alexander II escaped assassination at Kiev.) Hartmann's design for the Great Gate of Kiev caused a sensation; he himself regarded it as his finest work; it has been reproduced more often than any of his designs (it is presented once more opposite p. 273), and it inspired Musorgsky to write one of his most magnificent pages. But the competition was called off, and no Kiev gate was erected. "His gates are extraordinarily original", says Stasov. "Their style is that of the old heroic Russia. Columns, which support the trim arch crowned by a huge, carved headpiece, seem sunk into the earth as though weighted down by old age, and as though God knows how many centuries ago they had been built. Above, instead of a cupola, is a Slavic war helmet with pointed peak. The walls are decorated with a pattern of colored brick! How original is this!"

A third important manifestation of Hartmann's talent at this time (1870-71) is his series of designs for the theater, including the costume sketches for the ballet *Trilbi*, of which one prompted Musorgsky's "Ballet of the Chickens in Their Shells"; the scenery

and costume sketches for Glinka's "Russlan and Ludmilla", Act IV, of which eight survive; and sketches for Alexander Serov's opera, "The Power of Evil". More will be said of this group presently.

During the course of the exposition of 1870, Stasov sought out Hartmann and became his firm friend during the three years of life that remained to him. Stasov had seen him once, eight years before, when Hartmann had created a considerable stir at an artist's ball. Amid maskers dressed as "Mary Stuart and Dante, Postillons de Longjumeau, Spaniards, walking decks of cards, Italian abbots with plastered-on noses, Turks and Harlequins, astrologers and peasant girls", Hartmann had appeared as the Russian witch, Baba Yaga. "There, . . . along rows of plaster of Paris Greek gods and goddesses, a witch, Baba Yaga, was running, her red braids streaming out behind her. A big fuzzy hat was pulled down over her eyes, her feet were wrapped in *onuchi* [a kind of cloth], bony arms stuck out of the sleeves of her robe, a sparse beard protruded from her chin, her horrible eyes gleamed maliciously on her painted face, tusks stuck out of her half opened mouth." Stasov goes on to speak of this costume as evidence of Hartmann's ability to "cook up something that had never occurred to anyone else before", and the artist's choice of a Russian legendary costume at a party where everyone else was dressed according to foreign models is, of course, eloquent. The Baba Yaga motive was to recur in Hartmann's bronze clock (reproduced opposite p. 287), upon which Musorgsky was to compose the penultimate movement in his "Pictures".

"'You saw for yourself how our sleepy quadrilles woke up the minute he entered'", says Stasov, quoting a masquerader at the ball. "'It's always like this. Wherever Hartmann is, there you'll always find something new and different.' And indeed, as I went down the hall, it appeared as though Hartmann's small, thin figure, had poured quicksilver into everyone." The same author remarks in another place:

His whole tiny body was in constant motion. If he had to spend five seconds in one place he became restless, and an evening of cards, of constant sitting, would no doubt have killed him. His was a poetic imagination and an ever-alert spirit. Hartmann always strove to create: otherwise he was bored. Looking at his animated face in conversation I often thought his face bore a stamp of something Hebraic. "You are so talented that you appear to be a Jew!" He would laugh at this and say that maybe such was the case after all.

Through Stasov, Hartmann became acquainted with the Balakirev circle and was often in their company, especially that of Musorgsky. As evidence of his acceptance by this group, Keldysh and Jacovlev² give the following rather curious account from a letter written by Borodin to his wife in 1871:

At the Makovskys' I saw the sketch of a caricature of our circle. Bach (i.e. Stasov) is in the center of the picture dressed as a Russian *muzhik*. He is showing off a bear that he holds on leash. Bach holds in his hand the trumpet of fame, which he blows. Hartmann, in the guise of a small monkey, is sitting astride the trumpet (footnote: above his bowed head shines a nimbus, hinting at his spiritual qualities and his "saintliness"). On Bach's right shoulder sits Antokolsky in the guise of Mephistopheles. The bear, of course, is Mili [Balakirev], who holds a baton in his hand. Cui is depicted as a fox wagging his tail and holding in his front paws laurel wreaths that are destined for his favorites; enormous claws, bared menacingly, adorn the animal's paws. Modinka [Musorgsky] is a rooster, strutting about with importance. Korsinka [Rimsky-Korsakov] is depicted as a long lobster, with one claw holding Bach's hand and with the other claw embracing Nadeshda Purgold. The Purgold sisters are portrayed as small lap dogs, dressed up in clothes and dancing for the entertainment of the others. I am shown wearing a uniform and glasses; my hands are holding my ears, and I am fleeing this bedlam. A few more improvements are planned; Mili is to have red gloves and I'll be stuck inside a chemical retort. This whole allegory is to be explained as follows: The Makovskys have a grudge against the whole circle except me, and therefore they would see me isolated.

The same authors quote a somewhat different description of the caricature, by Stasov, who interprets it quite otherwise. He says it depicts a procession of the new Russian composers into the hall of fame, surrounded by their sympathetic fellow workers in other arts and led by their chief critical apologist. He says also that Borodin is shown stretching to the skies from out his chemical retort, with his epaulets marked with musical scores, while from the clouds above a furious Serov is seen hurling his thunderbolts at these enemies of his.

Cui was depicted as a fox with laurel wreaths and sharp claws because he was at the time very active as a critic, and Rimsky-Korsakov as a lobster because of his connections with the navy. Nadeshda Purgold, whom the lobster embraces, became Mme. Rimsky-Korsakov shortly after the picture was drawn. Borodin's activities as a chemist are well known, as well as the opposition shown the "koochka" by the Wagnerian composer, Alexander Serov.

In 1872 Hartmann went to Moscow, where he designed the mili-

² IU. Keldysh and V. Jacovlev: "Musorgsky, Articles and Materials", Moscow, 1932.

tary building for the Polytechnical Exposition of that year, a National Theater for the same fair but intended as a permanent building, the printing house of the well known publisher Mamontov, and various country houses, including Mamontov's home at Kirejevo, near Moscow, where Hartmann died on July 23, 1873.

The military building, of which a very bad cut exists, is described by Stassov as "that little village of joined Russian huts, with their peaked roofs and carved horse's heads, all this surrounding a precious little Russian tower with a scaly, multi-colored top, capped by a golden eagle. All this was so original . . . that it might have appeared even a bit fantastic. At the same time, they were composed of purely Russian parts and motives."

Hartmann's plan for the National Theater was not carried into execution precisely as the artist intended it to be, whence arose much of Stassov's finest rage. Among the original features of this theater, noted by Stassov as completely unheard of at the time, was a drinking fountain. The National Theater lasted about six years. Then it was torn down. But the plan won Hartmann a gold medal at the Vienna Exposition of 1873.

Mamontov would appear to have been Hartmann's closest friend and most generous patron during his last two years. The gates Hartmann erected for his printing establishment are considered unusually excellent by Stassov, and the Mamontov house in which Hartmann died is given here (opposite p. 272) as typical of the dwellings the architect erected during his days in Moscow.

Musorgsky dedicated "In the Corner" (No. 2 of the "Nursery" song-cycle) to Hartmann, and the artist once planned a kind of stage setting for the entire cycle, insisting that it should be declaimed with theatrical properties. Other evidence of Hartmann's interest in Musorgsky's music is in Stassov's statement that Musorgsky resumed work on the Polish act of *Boris* at some unspecified time because of Hartmann's entreaties and his own. A curious, accidental connection between the Polish act and Hartmann's art will be pointed out later.

When Hartmann died, very suddenly and apparently of heart failure, Musorgsky wrote two long, disconsolate letters, which may serve as a eulogy to conclude the biographical portion of this article. One of these was addressed to Stassov, was printed by him in his biography of Musorgsky, and has been taken over from that source

in most other biographies of the composer. The other letter, addressed to Mme. P. S. Stassova, the critic's wife, did not appear until it was printed in André Rimsky-Korsakov's edition of Musorgsky materials; it is probably given here for the first time in a translation.³

Petrograd, July 26, 1873
Shpalernaia [Street] No. 6.

To Mme. Stassova:

My dear and most amiable madame,

Yesterday's visit to the Melikhov household [i.e., the Stassovs'] created some perturbation in my brains—musical, perhaps; dissolute, certainly. My epistle to you will get stuck in Vienna and will not reach you despite all the steam I've raised in speeding up the work on my *Khovanchina*. My sorrow turned to joy when I found out that the *généralissime* [Stassov] would not go to Vienna, because this excursion was prohibited by those who love him. (I begged him not to go to Vienna.)⁴ As for my dear madame, I'm sure I'll be able to find her somewhere in Europe. This joy changed and turned topsy-turvy when I found out that our dear Vittushka Hartmann had died in Moscow of aneurysm. Grief! Grief! Oh, poor Russian much-suffering Art! During Victor Hartmann's last visit to Petrograd, after some music, the two of us took a walk along Furshtatskaia Street. At one of the crossings he stopped, paled, leaned against one of the houses, and could not catch his breath. At that time I did not attach much importance to the incident, and only asked him whether this sort of thing happened to him often. (Yes, often.) I said some nonsensical thing to take his mind off the occurrence for the time being, and we went on, at first at a snail's pace, and after a little while at full speed. Having myself gone through the experience of shortness of breath and of stupid *palpitatio cordis*, I thought that this was just a common ailment of nervous people; but, as it turned out, I was very wrong. In better days Hartmann's talent spouted so that it was impossible to equal or even approach him. I remember (how can I ever forget!) my last chat with him. He was consoling my sensibilities by showing me a project for a building in Russian style, adapted, true enough, to the needs of the time, but done in a "well-bred", as he used to like to say, Russian style. He was already bringing his project into being; his brains busied themselves with plans for the building of a house in Russian style, for Mamontov in Moscow. Whether Hartmann ever finished his work or not, I don't know. That old fool Death mows down his victims without considering whether there is any necessity for his accursed visit. I never dreamed that I should have to send a brief requiem to the *Petersburg Vedomosti*. It wouldn't be so bad if geniuses sprouted like mushrooms, but then you know that the majority of the local geniuses are nothing more than a lot of green jackasses and profound fools who have at their command only many-volumed corpses! As the popular saying has it: neither flesh, nor a snout nor even a brain cell among them! To feel horror creeping up one's spine one has only to recall those precious projects of houses *à la* Markov, of the belfry in the Letnii [Garden], of the staircase "welcoming" the whole world at the Vienna Exposition, and then to contrast with them the mere framework

³ A. Rimsky-Korsakov: "Musorgsky Letters and Documents", Moscow, 1932.

⁴ But Stassov actually was in Vienna at the time, and Musorgsky's letters about the death of Hartmann were sent to him and his wife there. The Stassovs had gone for the exposition referred to above, at which Hartmann's design for the National Theater at Moscow had won the gold medal.

of the National Theater in Moscow! And just think how much Hartmann could yet have done! Hartmann who, quietly and unobtrusively, saved the lives of thousands simply by dropping a hint to the authorities that the ceiling of the Maryinsky Barn was bound to fall in! Although pretending they did not believe this, the authorities lacked the courage of their convictions and reinforced the ceiling. And all Hartmann did was to glance up! Sheerest chance, of course! This has nothing to do with the creative powers of an artist, but at the same time it is a fundamental part of his make-up. Beautiful sounds are always beautiful, and during a session of dumplings they fascinate a Little Russian to such an extent that tears roll down his cheeks as he gobbles up his dumplings; thus, drenched with tears and melted butter, he swallows both the dumplings and the beautiful sounds. But there is need for something more concrete! Art must embody more than only Beauty. A building is fine when, in addition to having a beautiful façade, it is well planned and solid; when one can feel the purpose of the building and can see in it the artist's hand. Hartmann had it in him. Poor orphaned Russian Art! Antokolsky keeps fussing with a son from Gena, and Repin with the two Verushkas, the one smaller than the other . . .

Musorgsky's more famous letter, to Stassov, dated August 2, 1873, likewise tells the story of Hartmann's heart attack and of his own incomprehension of its significance. It is a far more emotional document than the other, beginning with the words "My very dear friend, what a terrible blow! 'Why should a dog, a horse, a rat have life,' and creatures like Hartmann die!" The letter goes on to bemoan man's stupidity in not realizing the danger of death until it is too late, and closes with a paragraph or two compounded of abject grief, defiance, and pessimistic resignation. This letter is so well known that I shall not lengthen an already extensive article by quoting it further. The text will be found in many books and articles on Musorgsky, such as Riesemann's popular biography.⁵

* * *

The Hartmann Memorial Exhibition was held in the rooms of the St. Petersburg Architectural Association in the late winter and spring of 1874. Stassov, reviewing it in the *St. Petersburg Vedomosti* on March 12, says it had then been open a month; it would be difficult to say when it closed. Stassov, as noted above, was the prime mover in arranging the show, although he acknowledges the assistance given him by Count Paul Suzor, president of the Association.

The catalogue of the Exhibition is an extremely rare, unillustrated pamphlet of 32 pages, and it is probable that the photostatic

⁵ Oskar von Riesemann: "Moussorgsky", New York, 1929. Riesemann's date for the letter, August 2, 1874, is a year too late; this author is frequently unreliable concerning minor details.

copy in the writer's possession is the only one in existence outside Russia. The title-page reads "Victor Alexandrovitch/ Hartmann/ Architect/ Biography/ and a catalogue of all his works/ St. Petersburg/ 1874/ Printed by the order of the/ Imperial Academy of Fine Arts./ Typography of the Imperial Academy of Sciences/ (Vasilievsky Island, 9th lin. No. 12.)" Stassov says this catalogue was printed by Nicholas Petrovitch Sobko, the well known art historian, at his own expense, and the original of the writer's copy bears Sobko's name written in ink on the title-page.

This slender volume contains an utterly bewildering amount of information concerning Hartmann's career, and is a monument to his industry, fertility, and catholicity. It lists drawings and sketches for every conceivable type of project, in architecture, craft work, ornamentation, etc., and endless watercolors and pencil sketches on every type of architectural and *genre* subject. One reads of ear-rings designed by Hartmann in Paris for the Empress Eugénie as well as of signboards for candy stores in St. Petersburg, of work for the church, for industry, for the military and other government departments, and for the artist's own pleasure. That he had a sense of humor is attested by his many human figures, drawn in architectural plates for the purpose of conveying an idea of their scale, which are frequently noted as being in amusing and satiric style. One is amazed to realize, in reading the catalogue, that Hartmann's career lasted but fifteen years, and that the truly professional part of it lasted only from 1869 to his death in the summer of 1873—less than four of those fifteen years. Tempting as it may be to give details from the catalogue concerning Hartmann's work as a whole, this study must, in order not to sprawl on indefinitely, concentrate on the Musorgsky side of it, which concerns six of the travel sketches, two of the craft designs, one of the stage designs, and, rather curiously, but one of the architectural plans of an artist primarily active as an architect.⁶

⁶ Nevertheless I cannot resist the temptation of giving the catalogue descriptions of two of the displays at the All-Russian Manufacturing Exposition of 1870, singled out by Stassov (see *supra*) as worthy of special notice—the giant candle and the rubber goods display. The sketch for the former is described as "Giant candle of stearin. Large candle holder, decorated by a mask and garlands; fringes of candles hang from the top; from the bottom rises a fountain built on Roman columns with arches. Around are groups of men and women." Of the rubber goods display the catalogue says: "At the top a huge rosette of rubber shoes and boots around a huge inflated round cushion; along the side, deep-sea diving manikins; below, coiled like a snail-shell, are firehoses; the background for all is a maroon colored drape. On the left, a merchant and his wife; on the right, four men, a woman, and a little girl looking at a rubber bathtub."

The catalogue lists an even four hundred works by Hartmann and mentions fifteen more that are not represented in the display. Yet three of the pictures immortalized by Musorgsky—*Il Vecchio Castello*, "The Market Place at Limoges", and *Bydlo*—are not mentioned in the catalogue at all, nor are a number of works in my collection. Stasov's review states that many works were added to the show after it had opened, which may explain why these are not listed.

Since Musorgsky's imagination was most attracted to the travel sketches, it might be well to give a little description of these as a whole, taken from Stasov's review. (The catalogue lists about one hundred and fifty such pictures.) Says Stasov:

They portray a multitude of scenes, types, and figures taken from life in the Parisian catacombs and in the Polish monasteries, life in the alleys of Rome and the villages about Limoges. We see carnival types à la Gavarni, workmen in blouses, and friars astride their donkeys and with umbrellas under their arms. Here we have old Frenchwomen saying their prayers, Jews smiling from under their skull caps; we have ragmen of Paris, attractive little donkeys rubbing against trees, landscapes of colorful ruins, wonderful views with the panorama of a city. Architecture was the theme of the rest of the sketches. With wonderful taste, and patience too, he covered dozens of pages with a minutely detailed sketch of the entire huge *jubé* [choir screen] of the Limoges cathedral of St. Stephen. With infinite care he reproduced the beauty and richness of the French sculpture that studs the wall, the domes, the cornices, and the consoles of the wonderful building in the ball [*sic*] style of the Renaissance.

Musorgsky finished his suite on June 22, 1874, having written it speedily and in great creative spirits. It was not published, however, until 1886, five years after his death. The first edition contained descriptions of the pictures by Stasov, which have been reprinted in most subsequent issues, often without credit to their author. These have been generally accepted, for lack of anything else, as complete and authoritative, but much is to be added to them.

Let us take up each of Musorgsky's movements, quoting first the description of the Hartmann pictures from Stasov's program notes, and then adding whatever may be necessary.

Promenade. "The introduction bears the title *Promenade*." That is all Stasov says in the notes. The music, of course, does not deal with any of Hartmann's pictures, but is a kind of musical portrait of Musorgsky himself walking about in the gallery. It recurs four times, and its theme is quoted in the finale. The curious rhythm—measures of $\frac{5}{4}$ alternating with measures of $\frac{6}{4}$ —creates an awkward,

waddly effect: Musorgsky was no sylph. "The composer has shown himself pacing here and there; sometimes loitering, sometimes hastening to get near a picture; sometimes the joyful gait slackens—Musorgsky thinking of his dead friend." So says Stassov⁷ in his biography of the composer.

Gnomus. "A drawing representing a little gnome walking awkwardly on deformed legs." So says Stassov in his notes. In a letter quoted by Montagu-Nathan,⁸ he says the drawing was a design for a toy nutcracker made for the Christmas tree at the St. Petersburg Artists' Club in 1869. This agrees with the catalogue entry No. 239. Both the drawing and the nutcracker have disappeared, but two other examples of Hartmann's fantastic craft work are represented opposite pp. 286-7, a jug in the form of a rooster presented to Adjutant General Greig, president of the Moscow Polytechnical Exposition in 1872, and a candelabrum.

Il Vecchio Castello. "A mediaeval castle before which stands a singing troubadour." The Italian title suggests the locale, but nothing like this is listed in the catalogue. The picture was obviously one of Hartmann's architectural watercolors done in Italy. The closest one can come to it at present is the "Scene in Périgueux" (reproduced opposite p. 284), which typifies Hartmann's paintings of architectural monuments during his *Wanderjahre*. This picture, unlisted in the catalogue, represents the tower of the cathedral of St. Front at Périgueux, rising above dwelling houses in the foreground.

Tuileries. "Dispute of the children after play. A walk in the garden of the Tuileries with a group of children and nurses." Listed in the catalogue, No. 33, merely as *Jardin des Tuileries*.

Bydlo. "A Polish wagon on enormous wheels drawn by oxen." This is not in the catalogue. The title, as is well known, is a Polish word meaning "cattle".

In a letter of Musorgsky's to Stassov, written in June, 1874, just before the "Pictures" were completed, the composer calls this movement *Sandomirzsko Bydlo*, i.e., "Cattle at Sandomir", and adds that the picture represents a wagon, "but the wagon is not inscribed on the music; that is purely between us".

Sandomir, or Sandomierz as it appears in most maps and reference books, is a small town in Poland, rich in architectural monu-

⁷ Quoted above as given by M. D. Calvocoressi in "Musorgsky", London, 1919.

⁸ In "New Light on Moussorgsky's 'Pictures,'" in the "Monthly Musical Record", May, 1917.

ments and historical associations. Hartmann, whose wife was Polish, spent a month there in 1868, painting many pictures, among them the two Jews of Musorgsky's well known movement. The Polish act of *Boris Godounov* takes place in Sandomir, and the fact that Hartmann knew the town may have had something to do with his entreating Musorgsky to complete that act.

Of all Hartmann's Sandomir pictures only one (reproduced opposite p. 284) seems to survive. It is listed in the catalogue (No. 174) as "Jewish merchant woman, her back to the spectators".

Ballet of the Chickens in their Shells. "A little picture by Hartmann for the setting of a picturesque scene in the ballet *Trilbi*." Hartmann did seventeen sketches for this ballet, of which four survive and of which one (reproduced opposite p. 268) is the source of this movement by Musorgsky. This is described in the catalogue (No. 224) as "Canary-chicks, enclosed in eggs as in suits of armor. Instead of a head-dress, canary heads, put on like helmets, down to the neck." Of the other three, one is Catalogue No. 210: "Trilbi, spirit of fire, in green costume and mittens. He holds a red hot poker; a lighted lamp is in his head-dress, just above the forehead." Another (No. 226) is "A canary-notary-public, in a cap of straight feathers", and the last (No. 223) is "Cockatoos: gray and green. Costume for the men's *corps de ballet*".

Trilbi was a full length ballet performed for the first time at the Bolshoi Theater in St. Petersburg in 1871. The choreography was by the famous Marius Petipa, the settings and costumes by Hartmann, the music by Julius Gerber (1831-83), a Russian conductor, violinist, and composer of some celebrity in his time. The star was a German ballerina named Adele Grantzow, for whose benefit the first performance was given. The plot was not taken from the "Trilby" of George du Maurier, which did not appear until 1895, but from "Trilby, or the Elf of Argyle", a short story by the well known French author Charles Nodier, which had been published in 1822.

Nodier had found the germ of his story somewhere—he is vague about the exact source—in the writings of Walter Scott. The tale deals with a Scottish fisherman named Dougal and his wife, Jeannie, who is loved by an elf named Trilby. Jeannie and Dougal cause the elf to be exorcised by a monk, but after the disappearance of Trilby the fisherman and his wife are no happier than before, Dougal because the presence of Trilby would seem to have brought luck to his

fishing. Jeannie because, to her great distress, she discovers she had returned Trilby's love. Trilby reappears in various supernatural forms, leading eventually to Jeannie's death.

Petipa's version of the story differs very markedly from Nodier's. The scene is shifted from Scotland to Switzerland, and the title is changed to "Trilbi, or the Demon of the Hearth". The background of the ballet plot is thus summarized by M. Pierre Tugal, editor of the "Archives Internationales de la Danse":

"According to a legend, every mountain *châlet* in Switzerland is under the protection of a spirit. This spirit must watch over the family and assure its well being. Each of these spirits has a mate, who lives with him in the chimney. They are required to love each other eternally. In case of infidelity, the spirits lose their eternal life and die." The plot, then, apparently has to do with the tragic situation that develops when Trilby, spirit of the hearth, falls in love with the mistress of the house he is supposed to guard.

M. Tugal says *Trilbi* "*fut un ballet très animé*". Among the "*groupes très bien combinés*" and the numerous "*danses très gracieuses*" of which it was composed were a considerable number of *divertissements* employing the children of the Imperial Russian Ballet School, and others, costumed as various birds and butterflies.

It should be added that Nodier's "Trilby" was the basis also of one of the most famous ballets in history, Taglioni's *La Sylphide*, first produced in 1832. Apparently Mlle. Grantzow aspired to the mantle of Taglioni, for she had made her *début* at Hanover in the ballet in Meyerbeer's "Robert the Devil", in which Taglioni had also scored one of her greatest triumphs. But the story of her *Trilbi* only vaguely resembles that of *La Sylphide*, which also takes extreme liberties with Nodier's tale.

In addition to the *Trilbi* sketch we give (opposite p. 269), as other examples of Hartmann's theatrical work, three of his nineteen sketches for the revival of Glinka's "Russlan and Ludmilla" at the Maryinsky theater, St. Petersburg, in 1871. One of these, in the words of the exhibition catalogue, is "Chernomor in a turban crowned by a bat; he holds a wand on which is perched an owl." Another shows "Chernomor on the throne. A tortoise is the foundation; the back is made of snakes which keep weaving their heads to and fro." The third shows the "Kidnaping of Ludmilla by Chernomor, who carries her off on a fire-breathing dragon with huge wings." Extant also is

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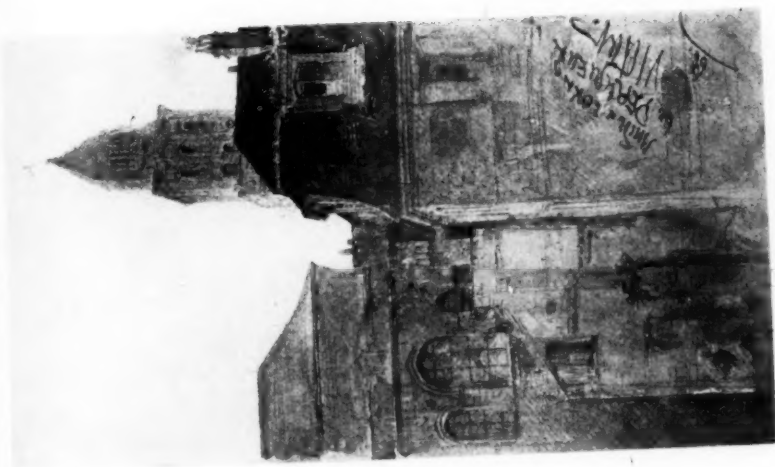
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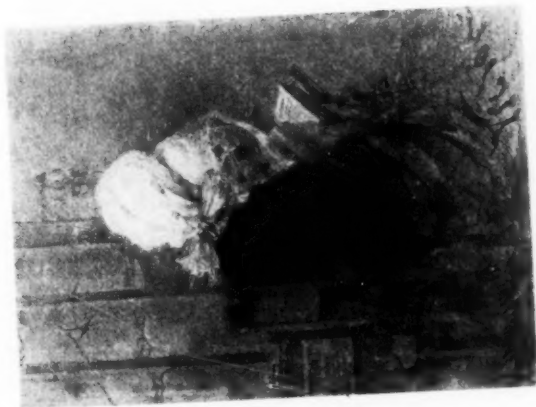
**Jewish Merchant Woman:
Sandomir**

(From Hartmann's original in the
State Tretyakovskiy Gallery, Moscow)



Scene in Périgueux

(From Hartmann's original in the
Institute of Literature, Leningrad)

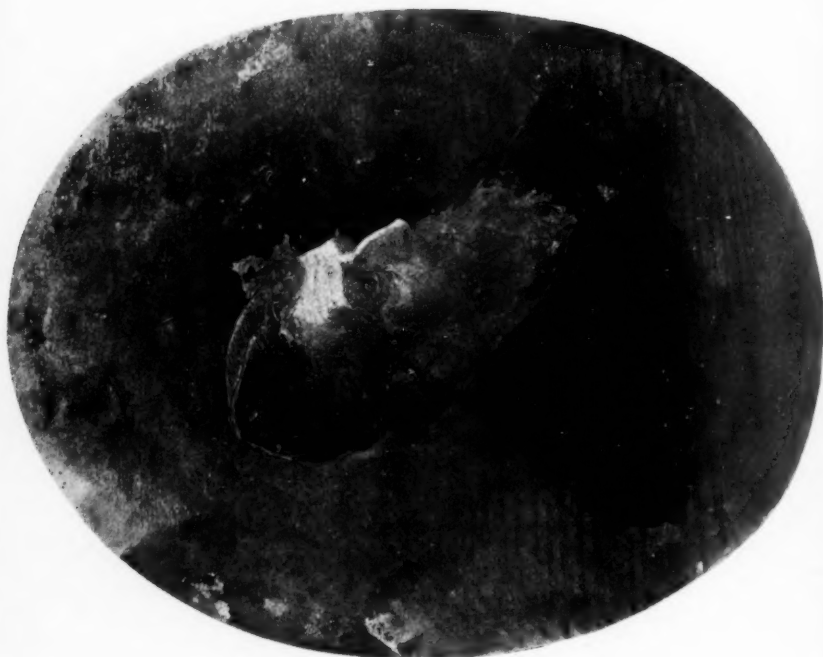


**112-Year-Old Woman
in Church at Limoges**

(From Hartmann's original in the
State Tretyakovskiy Gallery, Moscow)



Poor Jew
(From Hartmann's original in
State Tretyakovskiy Gallery, Moscow)



Head of a Jew
(From Hartmann's original in
State Tretyakovskiy Gallery, Moscow)

the design for a sleigh for Serov's "Power of Evil"; nothing is said of this project in the catalogue.

Samuel Goldenburg und Schmuyle. There are some curious inconsistencies concerning this Yiddish title. Musorgsky's biographers (Calvocoressi, Montagu-Nathan, Riesemann, Mary Tibaldi-Chiesa, etc.) all give it, claiming that it comes from the Stassov program notes as published in the first edition. It does not appear, however, in the complete authoritative edition of Musorgsky's works, edited by Paul Lamm and printed in 1931. (State Music Edition, Moscow, and Universal Edition.) Prof. Lamm likewise quotes what he claims are the Stassov program notes from the first edition, and, while his text is in all other respects identical with that given by the biographers, in this instance he quotes no title from Stassov but merely a description—"two Polish Jews, one rich, the other poor". Lamm worked from Musorgsky's original manuscript, and above the music at this point he indicates that the composer gave this movement, and this movement alone, no title; he therefore repeats "two Polish Jews", etc., in parentheses, and lets it go at that. Nowhere in Lamm does one find the phrase "Samuel Goldenburg und Schmuyle", nor is the title justified by anything in the Hartmann catalogue.

Musorgsky's inspiration must unquestionably have been the two pencil drawings listed in the catalogue as Nos. 176 and 177. The first is described as "A rich Jew wearing a fur hat: Sandomir", and the second as "A poor Sandomir Jew". Both, according to the catalogue, were the property of Musorgsky himself, and they are the only pictures the ownership of which is ascribed to him. But they have disappeared, and the Musorgsky archives do not now contain them. However, two watercolors of Jews, one poor and the other at least not obviously poverty-stricken, have survived. (See opposite.) Neither is mentioned in the catalogue. I suspect, from the letter of Mme. Komarova quoted below, that Hartmann did another single drawing of two Jews, entitled *Samuel Goldenburg und Schmuyle*, and that Stassov later confused this with the pictures owned by Musorgsky.

Limoges, The Market Place. "Frenchwomen furiously disputing in the market place." The catalogue lists nearly seventy-five drawings and paintings made by Hartmann at Limoges (fifty-seven of them comprising the detailed series of the choir screen, mentioned above), but none of the market place or of women in the market

place is included. We do have, however, as No. 53: "A 112-year-old woman in the Limoges cathedral sitting on a stool, book and prayer beads in hand." (See opposite p. 284.)

On a margin of the original manuscript, Musorgsky made two attempts to capture in prose the conversation of the Limoges market women, which hardly suggest their "furiously disputing". These notes were scratched out with ink by the composer, and therefore escaped the eagle eye of Mr. Calvocoressi, who was the first to publish Musorgsky's marginal note for *Con Mortuis in Lingua Mortua*. Prof. Lamm, however, was able to decipher the notations on "Limoges, The Market Place". They are published in his edition, and are given here from that source, probably for the first time in English.

The first notation reads: "Great news! Monsieur de Panta Pantaleon has just recovered his cow, The Fugitive. 'Yes ma'am, that was yesterday.' 'No ma'am, that was day before yesterday.' 'Oh, yes, ma'am, the beast roamed all over the neighborhood.' 'Oh, no, ma'am, the beast never got loose at all.'"

Dissatisfied with this, Musorgsky made a second attempt: "Great news! Monsieur de Puissangeout has just recovered his cow, The Fugitive. But the good gossips of Limoges are not totally agreed about this because Mme. de Remboursac has just acquired a beautiful new set of false teeth whereas Monsieur de Panta-Pantaleon's nose, which is in his way, remains always the color of a peony."

Catacombae. "Hartmann's picture represented the artist himself looking at the catacombs in Paris by the light of a lantern." The catalogue gives a little more precise information (No. 36): "Interior of Paris catacombs with figures of Hartmann, the architect Kenel, and the guide holding a lamp."

Con Mortuis in Lingua Mortua. This is really an extremely sad restatement of the *Promenade* theme. Musorgsky's marginal note, as translated by Calvocoressi, is: "The creative spirit of the departed Hartmann leads me towards the skulls and addresses them—a pale light radiates from the interior of the skulls." In the Lamm edition this is given a little more extensively: "A Latin text: with the dead in a dead language. Well may it be in Latin! The creative spirit of the departed Hartmann", etc.

The Hut on Fowl's Legs. "Hartmann's drawing represented a clock in the form of Baba Yaga's hut on fowl's legs. Musorgsky has

МОТИВЫ РУССКОЙ АРХИТЕКТУРЫ

MOTIFS DE L'ARCHITECTURE Russe № 58

КАНДЕЛАБРЪ

CANDELABRE

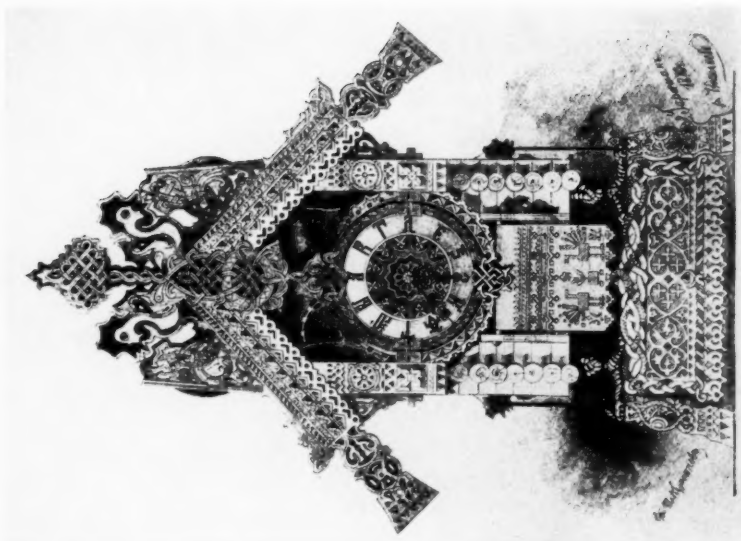


Н. П. Карамзин

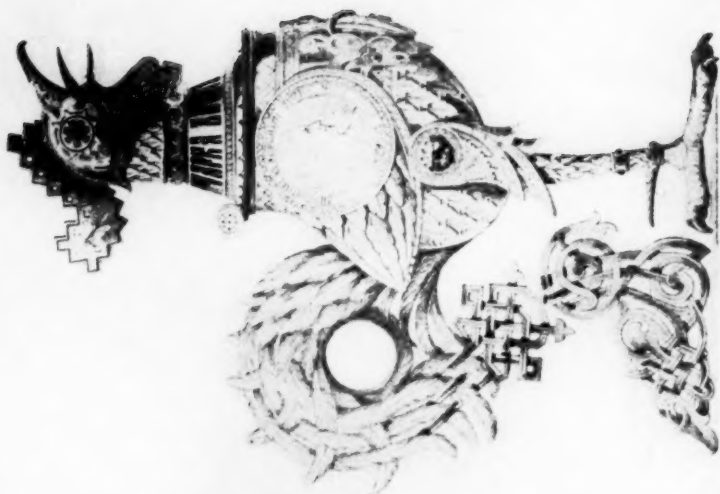
А. Карамзин

Hartmann's Candelabrum of circa 1870

(From Reinbot. *Motifs de l'architecture russe*)



Hartmann's Bronze Clock
in the form of Baba Yaga's Hut
(From the magazine, *Dehula*, No. 1, 1875)



Hartmann's Presentation Jug
for Adjutant-General Greig, circa 1870
(From *Reinbot. Motifs de l'architecture russe*)

added the ride of Baba Yaga in her mortar." This (reproduced opposite) is described in the catalogue (No. 247) as "Baba Yaga's hut on fowl's legs. Clock, Russian style of the 14th century. Bronze and enamel." The carved gables, cock motives, and elaborate ornamentation after textile and rope patterns, are all highly typical of Hartmann's architectural style.

The Great Gate of Kiev. "Hartmann's drawing represented his project for a gate in the city of Kiev in the massive old Russian style, with a cupola in the form of a Slavonic helmet." Six views and plans of the gate are mentioned in the catalogue (Nos. 264-9), of which ours (opposite p. 273) is apparently No. 265: "Stone city-gates for Kiev, Russian style, with a small church inside; the city council had planned to build these in 1869, in place of the wooden gates, to commemorate the event of April 4, 1866. The archway rests on granite pillars, three quarters sunk in the ground. Its head is decorated with a huge headpiece of Russian carved designs, with the Russian state eagle above the peak. To the right is a belfry in three stories with a cupola in the shape of a Slav helmet. The project was never carried out. A photograph of this drawing may be found in Hartmann's edition of 'Illustrations of Russian Ornament', Moscow, 1873." The inscription on the arch of the gateway is in Old Slavonic and says: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

In writing to Arkady Kerzin in Moscow, one of Musorgsky's earlier biographers, Stassov gives some information regarding the *tempi* of the "Pictures" that might be useful to present-day pianists and conductors. This letter, given in the Montagu-Nathan article cited above, was written in 1903, and states that these metronome markings were fixed by Rimsky-Korsakov, who recalled how the suite was played by Musorgsky himself. These *tempi* are as follows, the unit, unless specified, being the quarter-note:

Promenade, 104 in all four appearances. *Gnomus*, principal theme, 120. *Il Vecchio Castello*, dotted quarter, 56. *Tuileries*, 144. *Bydlo*, 88. "Ballet of the Chicks", 88. *Samuel Goldenburg und Schmuyle*, 48. "Market Place at Limoges", 120. *Catacombæ*, 57. "Great Gate of Kiev", 84.

A trifle of evidence exists that might show Musorgsky was somewhat influenced by Stassov in his choice of Hartmann subjects for musical illustration. Stassov published an article on his friendship with Hartmann in the Russian magazine, *Pchela* (St. Petersburg,

1875) and chose three works of Hartmann's with which to illustrate it. One of these is the Baba Yaga clock, and another the Kievan gate. The third is the carnival sleigh for "The Power of Evil". Musorgsky would naturally not illustrate in his music a sketch for another musical work, especially one by his sworn enemy, but some significance might be attached to the use of the other two subjects by both the critic and the composer.

LIST OF HARTMANN PICTURES COLLECTED BY THE WRITER

PHOTOGRAPHS OF ORIGINALS

From Institute of Literature, Leningrad (Stassov Collection):

- Six sketches for Glinka's "Russlan and Ludmilla":
 - Gardens of Chernomor (Act IV)
 - Spirits with Wings
 - *Chernomor on His Throne
 - *Chernomor
 - *Chernomor and Ludmilla on the Back of a Dragon
 - Magic Table

Four costume sketches for *Trilbi*:

- *Chick in Shell
- Parrots
- Judge Canary
- Trilbi with Lamp in Cap

- Façade of Lecture Hall for Public Salt Magazine, St. Petersburg
- *Project for a Country House near Kirejevo (Mamontov residence)
- *Project for the City Gates of Kiev

From State Tretiakovsky Gallery, Moscow:

- *Poor Jew
- *Jewish Merchant Woman: Sandomir
- *112-Year-Old Woman in Church at Limoges
- *Scene in Périgueux
- *Head of a Jew

REPRODUCTIONS FROM PUBLICATIONS

From Sobko: "Dictionary of Russian Art", St. Petersburg,

- Chernomor Gardens
- Russian Millenary Monument
- Carnival Sleigh for Serov's *Power of Evil*

From Novitzky: "History of Russian Art", Moscow, 1903.

- Portrait of Hartmann (not by Hartmann)
- City Gate of Kiev
- Military Building for Moscow Polytechnical Exposition, 1872

From Magazine, Pchela, No. 1, St. Petersburg, 1875.

Carnival Sleigh for *Power of Evil*

*Bronze Clock in the Form of Baba Yaga's Hut

From Magazine, Pchela, No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1875.

*Portrait of Hartmann (not by Hartmann, same cut as in Novitzky)

City Gate of Kiev (same cut as in Novitzky)

From Report of Imperial Academy of Fine Arts for 1862.

*Russian Millenary Monument

From Reinbot: Motifs de l'architecture russe, St. Petersburg, 1875:

Gates of Mamontov Printing House

Façade of Lecture Hall for Public Salt Magazine, St. Petersburg

*Presentation Jug for Adjutant-General Greig

Booth for Selling Bibles at All-Russian Manufacturing Exposition, 1870

Corner of Building Ornamented with Tile

Clock in the Form of Baba Yaga's Hut

Various Ornaments for Windows and Doors

Door

National Theater, Moscow

2 Plans of National Theater

Detail of National Theater

Loge for National Theater

Various Ornaments for National Theater

City Gate of Kiev, façade

City Gate of Kiev, section

*Candelabrum

Door

7 Façades for Country Houses

5 Plates of Ornamentation for Country Houses

Ground plan for a Country House

Gate for Entrance to an Estate

From Reinbot: Motifs de l'architecture russe, St. Petersburg, 1877:

Frame for Tapestry

Church Lamp

*Reproduced as illustrations for this article.

In addition to the above the writer has endeavored to trace the following, mentioned by Thieme and Becker (see bibliography), but without success:

1. Album of Lithographs by Hartmann of Russian Millenary Monument. This is described in detail in Tevjaschov (see bibliography).

2. Magazine, *Niva*, No. 20, 1870, with cut of façade of All-Russian Manufacturing Exposition of 1870.

3. Catalogue of National Exposition, Moscow, 1882, with cuts of Military Building of Moscow Polytechnical Exposition, 1872, and costumes for "Russian and Ludmilla" and *Trilbi*.

An album of photographs of Hartmann works is said by Stasov to have been prepared for general distribution at the Vienna Exposition of 1873. (This is apparently Hartmann's book, "Illustrations of Russian Ornament", Moscow, 1873, mentioned in the catalogue.)

The Stasov archives at the Institute of Literature at Leningrad contain, in addition to the works of Hartmann listed under its name above, a small album or notebook of Hartmann's with sketches of architectural motives, a sketch for Ludmilla's bed, three costume sketches for "The Power of Evil," the original drawings for the façades of the National Theater, Mamontov's printing house and three country houses, the interior of the Polytechnical Exposition of 1872, and sketches for a brewery, a chest of drawers, and an exhibit for a liquor dealer at the Polytechnical Exposition. This information is provided by Mme. Varvara Komarova, director of the Institute of Literature and daughter of Dmitri Stasov, brother of Vladimir, who collected most of the Hartmann materials here mentioned. Mme. Komarova adds: "There was also a photograph of the drawing, *Samuel Goldenburg und Schmuyle*, but now, I don't know how, they cannot find it."

As will be seen from this list, only a fraction of the Hartmann pictures in the writer's possession are reproduced herewith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON HARTMANN ALONE

In English:

Montagu-Nathan: "Hartmann and the 'Pictures from an Exhibition'," *Monthly Musical Record*, July, 1916.

In German:

Article on Hartmann in Thieme and Becker: *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, 1923.

In Russian (major references):

Victor Alexandrovitch Hartmann, biography and a catalogue of all his works, St. Petersburg, 1874.

Stasov: "Collected Works", St. Petersburg, 1894.

Articles in the above:

The Death of V. A. Hartmann (originally published in *St. Petersburg Vedomosti*, December 31, 1873)

The Hartmann Exhibition (originally published in *St. Petersburg Vedomosti*, March 12, 1874)

My Friendship with Hartmann (originally published in *Pchela*, No. 1, St. Petersburg, 1875)

Hartmann's National Theater (Date and place of original publication not given)

Stasov: "Russian Architecture During the Past 25 Years". *Vestnik Evropy*, St. Petersburg, June, 1883.

Report of Imperial Academy of Fine Arts for 1872-73, St. Petersburg, 1874.

Russian Biographical Dictionary, Moscow, 1914.

Slavonic Encyclopaedia, St. Petersburg, 1892.

In Russian (minor references):

Kondakov: Jubilee Handbook of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, 1914.

Tevjaschov: "A Description of Certain Engravings". St. Petersburg, 1903. (Describes Hartmann's lithographs of the Russian Millenary Monument.)

See also above in list of sources for pictures under Sobko, Novitzky, and Report of Imperial Academy of Fine Arts for 1862. Important for pictures but negligible as regards text.

ON HARTMANN AND MUSORGSKY

All the numerous books on Musorgsky contain some material on Hartmann. The writer has found the following books and articles the most useful.

In English:

Montagu-Nathan: "New Light on Moussorgsky's 'Pictures' ". *Monthly Musical Record*, May, 1917.

Calvocoressi: "Musorgsky", London, 1919.

Riesemann: "Moussorgsky", New York, 1929.

Calvocoressi and Abraham: "Masters of Russian Music", London, 1936.

In Russian:

Musorgsky: "Pictures at an Exhibition", edited by Paul Lamm, Moscow, 1931. (Text in Russian and French.)

Keldysh and Jacovlev: "Musorgsky Articles and Materials", Moscow, 1932.

Rimsky-Korsakov, A.: "Musorgsky, Letters and Documents", Moscow, 1932.

Stasov: "Collected Writings on Musorgsky", Moscow, 1922.

ORIGINS OF THE LYRIC THEATER IN SPAIN

By GILBERT CHASE

"IN 1492, companies began to represent publicly in Castile plays by Juan del Encina." So wrote a learned antiquarian of the time of Philip IV, fixing the date of the foundation of the secular theater in Spain.¹ Another 17th-century chronicler, Agustín de Rojas, writing somewhat earlier, also states that the bucolic dramas or eclogues of Encina were the first to be acted in Spain, and he couples this circumstance with two other memorable events of the year 1492: the capture of Granada from the Moors, and the discovery of America by Columbus.² Rojas was an actor, and, as Ticknor remarks with gentle irony, he appears, "in the true spirit of his profession", to have considered all three events of nearly equal importance.

Though the statements of these early chroniclers cannot be accepted without qualification — for example, the assertion that Encina's plays were "publicly" performed is misleading — the interesting fact remains that about the time Columbus was finding a New World across the seas, Juan del Encina was laying the foundations of the Spanish secular drama, whose development during the next two centuries was to be marked by unrivalled brilliancy and amazing fecundity.

Just as there are some who claim that it was not Columbus, but Leif Ericson, who discovered America, so there are some who would deny Encina's right to be regarded as the originator of the Spanish drama. This, however, is mere academic quibbling, which does not affect the main issue. The plays of Encina, though slight in dramatic content and crude in form, and though derived partly from the religious representations (familiar for centuries) and partly from the poetic dialogues which had already established themselves as a literary form in Spain, constitute the first definite starting-point that we can assign to the Spanish secular theater.

¹ Rodrigo Méndez de Silva, in *Población de España* (Madrid, 1675); quoted by Ticknor in "History of Spanish Literature" (New York, 1849), Vol. I, p. 277.

² Agustín de Rojas, *Viage Entretenido* (Madrid, 1614); cited by Ticknor, *loc. cit.*

The latter, of course, as elsewhere throughout Europe, sprang originally from a religious source, and specifically from the Introit tropes of the Mass at Christmas and Easter. One of the earliest of the mediaeval religious plays is the *Auto* or *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, performed at the feast of the Epiphany, whose text is ascribed by Menéndez Pidal to the middle of the 12th century (the unique MS, discovered in Toledo, is probably from the early part of the 13th century). These *autos*³ or mystery plays were presented both inside and outside the churches. Another religious manifestation that had its effect upon the development of the theater was the elaborate celebration connected with the feast of Corpus Christi, which gradually took the form of a brilliant and colorful outdoor pageant.

A definite precursor of Encina may be found in the person of Gómez Manrique, who, like his more famous nephew Jorge Manrique, was both soldier and poet. His *Representación de Nuestro Señor*, the earliest extant example of a dramatic treatment of the *Officium Pastorum* in Spain, written between 1467 and 1481, was intended to be performed by the nuns at the convent of Calabazanos, where the author's sister was Mother-Vicar. What is of particular interest to us is the fact that this piece concluded with a lullaby sung in chorus by the nuns to the tune of a popular song. It is this musical tradition which we shall see continued and amplified in the plays of Juan del Encina, who had the unique distinction of being not only the most important dramatic poet, but also the most notable musician of his generation in Spain.

The facts of Juan del Encina's life have long been the subject of controversy and conjecture. There is no positive proof that he was born in the village of Encinas, near Salamanca, in 1469, as stated in most musical lexicons. Various Spanish scholars have attempted to clarify the details of Encina's biography, but without achieving complete success. Important facts, however, were discovered in 1921 by Ricardo Maeso Espinosa,⁴ who established that Encina's real name

³ The word "auto" is derived from the Latin *actus*, and was used in Spain, at first, to designate a dramatic composition in which biblical or allegorical characters intervened. But later it was used more loosely, to designate plays even of a light and jocose nature, as in Encina's *Auto del Repelón*, dealing with student life at Salamanca. To the majority of English readers the word has a more sinister association: that of the Inquisitional *Auto de Fe*.

⁴ *Nuevos datos biográficos de Juan del Encina*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, Tomo VIII (erroneously printed as Tomo IX), pp. 640-656.

was Fermoselle⁵ and that his father was a shoemaker living in Salamanca. There were at least six sons in the family, of whom the eldest was probably Diego de Fermoselle,⁶ who studied music, became a Master of Arts, and was professor of music at Salamanca University from at least 1503 until his death in 1522. Another brother, Francisco, is important because records show that he made use of both the names, Fermoselle and Encina, leading us to suppose that the latter was the mother's family name (in Spain it is customary to use the mother's name together with, and sometimes in place of, the father's name). In 1484 our poet-musician figures in the records of Salamanca Cathedral as a chorister, under the name of Juan de Fermoselle. But by 1490, when he had taken minor orders and was attached to the Cathedral as *capellan de coro*, his name appears as Juan del Encina, by which he was henceforth known.⁷ As a cathedral chorister, his musical education was in the hands of the choirmaster, Fernando de Torrijos, whose death in 1498 had an important effect upon Encina's career.

Encina was evidently a man who knew how to get on in the world. At Salamanca University, where he pursued his studies in law, he obtained the protection of the Chancellor, Don Gutierre de Toledo, a member of the powerful house of Alba. Through his intervention Encina, sometime between 1490 and 1492, entered the household of the second Duke of Alba, Don Fadrique de Toledo, as musical and poetic factotum. His duties were to arrange and direct the semi-dramatic entertainments with which his noble patrons celebrated the various festivals of the year. It was for such occasions that he composed his eclogues, both sacred and secular, which were performed in the chapel or oratory of the ducal palace at Alba de Tormes, near Salamanca, and in which Encina himself sometimes appeared as actor. The first edition of Encina's works, published at Salamanca in 1496,⁸ contains eight plays, while in later editions there are twelve. The first of these plays was probably performed at Christ-

⁵ This was the name of a village between Salamanca and Zamora, from which the father, Juan de Fermoselle, may have originally come.

⁶ In his edition of the *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid, 1890), Barbieri gives a composition (No. 71) by Fermoselle, whom he calls an "unknown composer". But this is in all probability Encina's brother, Diego.

⁷ For the best discussion of the reasons for this change of name, see *Hipótesis a un problema de Juan del Encina*, by E. Giménez Caballero, in *Revista de Filología Española*, Vol. XIV, pp. 59-69 (Madrid, 1927).

⁸ Republished in facsimile by the Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1928.

mastide of the year 1492.⁹ One of the last to which a definite date can be assigned, the so-called *Égloga de las grandes lluvias*, belongs to the year 1498. This contains references to circumstances that led to Encina's departure from Salamanca about this time.

When Fernando de Torrijos, choirmaster of Salamanca Cathedral, died in 1498, Encina was among those who applied for the vacant post. One of his strongest competitors was another poet-musician of Salamanca, Lucas Fernández, of whom we shall have more to say presently. So keen was the competition that no clear-cut decision could be reached. Finally, the choirmaster's salary was divided among three choristers, one of whom was Lucas Fernández. Encina was in high dudgeon and left Salamanca, vowing to revenge himself on those who had been responsible for his discomfiture. With his subsequent career we have little concern, because most of his creative work was done during his early years in Salamanca. Suffice it to say that he spent most of his time in Rome, where he was in high favor with the Pope, and that he held various ecclesiastical benefices in Spain, while successfully managing to evade the performance of his duties. Towards the end of his life, however, he took his religious obligations more seriously, and, after making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1519, he returned to Spain about 1523 and spent his last years as Prior of León. He died in 1529 or 1530.

Until comparatively recent times, none of Encina's musical compositions was available to modern students. But with the publication in 1890 of the *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI*, transcribed and edited by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri from a MS collection discovered in the Royal Palace at Madrid, an ample documentation for the study of Encina's music was provided, for the *Cancionero* contains no less than sixty-eight compositions by him. Most of these are in the form of the *villancico*, which, according to a 16th-century writer,¹⁰ "is a kind of verse composed only to be sung" ("*Villancico es un género de copla que solamente se compone para cantar*"). It would be more correct, however, to say that it was a form invariably associated with music, for some *villancicos* were both sung and danced. The *villancico*, as a poetic form, consisted of two parts, the *cabeza* ("head") and the *pies* ("feet"). It was gen-

⁹ Cf. Eugen Kohler: *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen* (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, Dresden, 1911, vol. 27, pp. 19-20).

¹⁰ Juan Díaz Rengifo, in *Arte poética española* (Salamanca, 1592).

erally set to music for four voices; but only in the *cabeza*, which served as a kind of chorus, did all four voices sing together. In the *pies* two voices sang alternately in dialogue with the other two.¹¹ It was this dialogue form that gave the *villancico* a semi-dramatic character and made it an appropriate conclusion for the early eclogues or pastoral plays. J. P. Wickersham Crawford¹² notes that the practice of writing for four voices, which was natural from a musical standpoint, appears to have often determined the number of characters in many of the early plays. And he observes that in Encina's *Auto del Repelón* a fourth shepherd was introduced at the very end, simply in order that in the final *villancico* the characters might be able to "cantar dos por dos"—that is, two voices alternating in dialogue with the other two, as described above. This is an interesting example of the way in which music influenced the form of the early Spanish drama.

All but two of Encina's plays (not counting the *loa* or introduction to the first Christmas Eclogue) end with a *villancico*, usually accompanied by dancing. Examples of these *villancicos* may be found in Barbieri's *Cancionero* (Nos. 353, 354 and 357). They are simple in treatment and popular in feeling. Their nearest musical analogy is perhaps to be found in the contemporary Italian *frottola*. But what distinguishes the compositions of Encina, and gives them a specifically national character, is the fact that poetic expression is always given precedence over technical contrivance. The music is intended to intensify and enhance the mood and meaning of the text, and is never considered an end in itself. We find that this *expressive* conception of music prevails throughout the development of the early lyric theater in Spain. And this may be one of the reasons why purely operatic forms failed to take root in Spain as they did in Italy, where the opera soon became a pretext for vocal display with incidental scenery and action.



We have mentioned Lucas Fernández, who was Encina's rival for the post of choirmaster at Salamanca Cathedral. He was also Encina's rival in the field of dramatic poetry, though he never equalled the

¹¹ Cf. José Subirá: *La participación musical en el antiguo teatro español* (Publicaciones del Instituto del Teatro Nacional, No. 6, Barcelona, 1930).

¹² In "Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega" (Revised edition, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1937).

success attained by his fellow-townsmen. Lucas Fernández was born at Salamanca in 1474, entered the Church, and was professor of music at Salamanca University (succeeding Encina's brother Diego) from 1522 until his death in 1542. In 1514 he published *Farsas y églogas al modo y estilo pastoril y castellano*,¹³ containing six plays in the style of Encina, besides a *Diálogo para cantar* which is of special interest to us as being the first known example of a semi-dramatic secular composition in Spain to be entirely sung, from beginning to end. I say "semi-dramatic", because there is no certainty that this piece was ever actually performed. Assuming that it was, however, it may be considered a sort of embryo opera. It consists of 154 verses in stanzas of seven octosyllabic lines, and it was sung to the popular air or *tono* of *Quién te hizo, Juan Pastor?*, which is included in Barbieri's *Cancionero* (No. 360). There the music, written for three voices, is attributed to a certain Badajoz, of whom nothing is known save that he is mentioned in documents of a slightly later period. Cotarelo y Mori¹⁴ thinks that some variations on this tune must have been introduced into the *Diálogo*, because, he says, "to sing 154 verses to the monotonous tune of *Juan Pastor* must have been not a little tiresome." For ears accustomed to Verdi and Wagner, it doubtless would be very boring; but whether the contemporaries of Fernández thought it so is another matter. Perhaps they contented themselves with varying the instrumental accompaniment, according to the practice that became so widespread in Spain later. But all this is a matter of conjecture. The characters in the *Diálogo para cantar* are two shepherds, Bras and Blas. The former has been crossed in love, and, upon learning the cause of his companion's chagrin, Blas tries to console him. That is all that this little piece contains in the way of "action".

Music plays an important part in Lucas Fernández's *Auto de la Pasión*, which, according to Cotarelo y Mori, was performed in the Cathedral of Salamanca. This piece not only concludes with a *villancico* (Barbieri, *Cancionero*, No. 306), but also includes songs that alternate with the spoken text as an integral part of the action, thus definitely foreshadowing the form of the *zarzuela*.

The customary *villancicos* are to be found at the end of plays by

¹³ Republished with same title by the Real Academia Española in 1867.

¹⁴ *Historia de la Zarzuela, o sea el Drama lírico en España, desde su origen a fines del siglo XIX*, Ch. I (Madrid, 1934).

other followers of Encina, notably Fernán Lopez de Yanguas and Bartolomé de Torres Naharro. But music figures more prominently in the plays of the most important dramatist of the period, the Portuguese Gil Vicente, who flourished as a writer for the stage from 1502 to 1536, and who died in 1557. In spite of his Portuguese nationality, Gil Vicente looms large in the history of the early Spanish drama, and, of his forty-two works, twenty-five are entirely or partly written in Castilian. We find that in many of these plays music was used not only at the beginning and end, but also during the course of the action. For example, in the *Barca de la Gloria* (1519) and the *Comedia de Rubena* (1521) there are several choruses. And in the tragi-comedy *La Fragua del Amor* (1525), we find the following curious stage-directions: "*Entra un Negro na fragoa, e andaon de martellos todos quatro em seu compasso, e cantaon as serranas a quatro voces a o compasso dos martellos esta cantiga seguinte*:"¹⁵ Here we have an "anvil chorus" that anticipates *Il Trovatore* by more than four centuries!

Another curious stage-direction occurs in *La Barca do Purgatorio* (1518; in Portuguese): "*Sahem os diablos do batel i com huma cantiga muito desacordada levaon o taful; e os anjos cantando levaon o menino*." This is a primitive example of musico-dramatic realism: the devils carry off the villain to the accompaniment of a "very discordant" song, while angels sweetly singing bear the child to heaven.

The piece that is rather strangely called *Auto da Fe* (1510), concludes with the singing of an *ensalada* for four voices: "*Cantaon huma ensalada que veio de Francia, e assi se vaon com ella, e acaba a obra*." This is interesting as indicating that the *ensalada* (a sort of burlesque madrigal), whose invention Mitjana attributes to the Catalan composer Mateo Flecha the elder (1481–c. 1553), came from France, and that it was actually used in connection with theatrical performances.¹⁶ The *ensalada* (literally, "salad"), as its name indicates, was a mixture of diverse and often incongruous elements—metric, musical and linguistic (for sometimes several languages were used)—a fanciful galimatias, a heterogeneous concoction held

¹⁵ "Enter a Negro with an anvil, and all four [shepherds] keep time striking with their hammers, and the shepherdesses sing in four voices to the rhythm of the hammer-strokes the following song."

¹⁶ J. B. Trend (article on Flecha in *Grove's Dictionary*, 3rd Ed.) says that the *ensaladas* "are dramatic in conception, without ever having been intended for the stage". For a discussion of this point, see Mitjana's *La Musique en Espagne* in *Encyclopédie de la Musique, Partie 1*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1920), pp. 2011-14 (with musical examples).

together by the ingenuity of the composer. It was couched in dialogue form and reflected, in a humorous and often picaresque manner, the popular life of the day. Pedrell and Mitjana are of the opinion that these little *genre* pieces were actually performed, that is, presented with appropriate gestures and action. It is interesting to compare the parallel growth of the "madrigal opera" in Italy, culminating in Orazio Vecchi's *Amfiparnaso* (Modena, 1596). But it is claimed that Vecchi's celebrated *commedia harmonica* was never intended to be performed, whereas there is reason to believe that the Spanish *ensalada* was a rudimentary but definite theatrical form. The chief cultivator of the *ensalada* was Mateo Flecha the elder, whose works in that form were published by his nephew, Mateo Flecha the younger, at Prague in 1581.

The most prolific Spanish dramatist of the 16th century was Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, whose *La Farsa del Juego de Cañas*, in the words of Cotarelo y Morí, "is almost a zarzuela in one act". This piece has a peculiar significance in that it offers an intimation of the use of recitative: "Here the Sybil, in a loud voice, half singing on a fixed tone ("medio cantando en un tono igual"), recites the following." This work, which dates from about 1550, is full of music, as indicated by such instructions as, "Here the chorus sings the following verses in fauxbourdon." In this piece we also find what is perhaps the earliest mention of the *folia* as a special way of singing and dancing.

* *

With the advent of the 17th century, we enter the "Golden Age" of Spanish drama, illustrated by such names as Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Guillén de Castro, Tirso de Molina, Ruiz de Alarcón—in whose works music plays a more or less prominent part. Music was particularly prominent in the various minor theatrical forms—*loas*, *entremeses*, *bailes*, *jácaras*, *finés de fiesta* and *mojigangas*—which were used as curtain-raisers, *entr'actes* and conclusions for the performances of the major comedies and dramas of the period. It is interesting to note that the *tonadilla*, the principal popular form of the lyric theater in Spain throughout the 18th century, grew out of the *jácara entremesada*, which was originally a species of picaresque interlude between the second and third acts of a comedy and later replaced the *loa* as curtain-raiser. The *baile*, as its name indicates,

was made up of dancing as well as singing. It generally served as interlude between the first and second acts, and often had a satirical touch. Cotarelo y Mori¹⁷ lists the names of more than a hundred musicians who were active as composers of *bailes* between 1615 and 1730. Of these, the best known at the beginning of the 17th century were Juan Blas de Castro and Juan López. The former was musician to the Duke of Alba at the same time that Lope de Vega was serving as the duke's secretary. The dramatist evidently held him in great esteem, for in the Prologue to his *Auto del Hijo Pródigo* he wrote, "In naming Juan Blas, we name Orpheus." And he composed an *Elogio en la muerte de Juan Blas de Castro*, published posthumously at Madrid in 1635. Blas became a member of the Chapel Royal; he died blind.

It was Lope de Vega who wrote the text of the first genuine Spanish opera, *La Selva sin Amor*, "*Égloga pastoral que se cantó a su Magestad en fiestas de su salud*", performed at the Royal Palace in 1629. The composer is unknown and the music has been lost. This pastoral eclogue consists of 700 verses and deals with the conventional theme of the amorous difficulties experienced by two shepherdesses and their swains, with a happy *dénouement* effected through the intervention of Venus and Cupid. There are three concerted musical numbers—a duet, a trio, and the final chorus—but otherwise the characters sing as soloists.

A controversy arose, some time ago, as to whether this work was sung in its entirety or only in part. Pedrell and Mitjana maintained that it was sung only in part, affirming, indeed, that opera, in the sense of a dramatic work set entirely to music, was unknown in Spain during the 17th century. The researches of more modern scholars such as Cotarelo and Subirá, prove them to have been wrong. The evidence with regard to *La Selva sin Amor* hinges on a passage in the dedication, where the author, addressing Don Juan Alonso Enriquez de Cabrera, Admiral of Castile, writes: "Your Excellency not having seen this Eclogue, which was sung in performance [*"que se representó cantada"*] before their Majesties and Highnesses, a new thing in Spain," etc. (the italics are mine). Cotarelo points out that if it had not been entirely sung, it would have been no novelty (for plays in which singing and speaking alternated

¹⁷ Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVII (Madrid, 1911), Introduction, p. ccxxix.

had long been known in Spain), and it would have been nonsense for Lope de Vega to write that this performance was "a new thing in Spain".

With Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) we come to a figure of paramount importance in the history of the Spanish lyric theater, for it was he who created the *zarzuela*, which remains to this day the national lyrico-dramatic form of Spain. This type of entertainment, characterized by the division into two acts and the alternation of singing and dancing with spoken dialogue, derived its name from the palace of La Zarzuela, originally a hunting-lodge built by the Infante Don Fernando in the royal domain of the Pardo near Madrid.¹⁸ After Don Fernando's departure for Flanders in 1634, Philip IV enlarged the building, adorned it with gardens, fountains, and statues, and used it as a kind of rustic retreat. Naturally, he had to have his entertainment there as well as in Madrid, so it became customary for the comedians to present short pieces, with music and singing, which at first were called *Fiestas de Zarzuela* and later simply *zarzuelas*. The early *Fiestas de Zarzuela* were probably of an improvisatory character, with a very slight literary basis. At any rate, the first known text of a *Fiesta de Zarzuela* is Calderón's *El Golfo de las Sirenas*, performed at the Palace of La Zarzuela on January 17, 1657, and described as a "Piscatory Eclogue" because the scene is by the sea and some of the characters are fisherfolk. This was in one act, preceded by a *loa* and followed by a *mojiganga*. The work, therefore, does not strictly conform to the classical type of *zarzuela* as established by Calderón.

Closer to the *zarzuela* pattern, because it was in two acts, was an earlier work by Calderón, *El Jardín de Falerina*. This was performed at the Royal Palace in Madrid in 1648 (not at La Zarzuela, as affirmed by Vera Tassis, Calderón's friend and biographer, and repeated by later writers). Pedrell and Mitjana fell into a curious error with regard to the date of this work and the authorship of the music. Drawing false conclusions from some documents found among Barbieri's papers, they attributed the music to a composer named José Peiro (Peyro) and declared that the work dated from 1629. José Peiro was in fact a Catalan or Majorcan musician who flour-

¹⁸ *Zarza* in Spanish means bramble-bush. *La Zarzuela* was a common name for villages and hamlets in Spain. It was near one of these villages that the Palace of La Zarzuela stood, hence its name.

ished at a considerably later period (circa 1701-19) and could therefore not have written the music for a performance that took place in 1648—to say nothing of 1629! The music for *El Jardín de Falerina* consists exclusively of choruses.

Paradoxically, the work that stands as the prototype of the zarzuela, Calderón's *El Laurel de Apolo*, was not performed at the Palace of La Zarzuela, but at the Buen Retiro Palace in Madrid (built in 1630; the Coliseo del Buen Retiro or royal theater was built in 1639). The work, however, had been originally commissioned for La Zarzuela in the autumn of 1657, and its transference to Madrid was due to extraneous circumstances, namely the birth of a royal heir, which took place on November 28 of that year. The king returned to Madrid to be present at the birth of his wife's first-born, and, as he remained in the capital, Calderón's two-act zarzuela was performed at the Buen Retiro on March 4, 1658. The musical numbers in *El Laurel de Apolo* are as follows:

1. Chorus of shepherds and shepherdesses; 2. Musical dialogue between Apollo and Cupid; 3. Chorus of nymphs and solo of Apollo; 4. Rustic song and dance; 5. Solo of Iris, accompanied by double chorus; 6. Dialogue, partly sung and partly spoken, between Apollo and Daphne; 7. Chorus of shepherds, with a shepherdess singing a *seguidilla*; 8. Final chorus. Unfortunately, none of the music has been preserved.

Calderón also wrote the text for two "operas", that is, dramatic works that were entirely sung. The first of these was *La Púrpura de la Rosa*, in one act, written to celebrate the marriage of the Infanta Maria Teresa to Louis XIV of France. Like *El Laurel de Apolo*, this work was originally intended for La Zarzuela (whence on the title-page of the edition of 1664 it is called a "*Fiesta de la Zarzuela*"), but was instead performed at the Buen Retiro on January 17, 1660. Here, again, nothing is known of the music.

But we are more fortunate with respect to the second "opera", *Celos Aun del Aire Matan*,¹⁹ text by Calderón, music by Juan Hidalgo, performed in the Coliseo del Buen Retiro on December 5, 1660. The musicologist José Subira, while working among the musical archives of the Palacio de Liria, the home of the Dukes of Alba

¹⁹ The gist of this rather cryptic title is that jealousy can prove fatal, even when based on airy nothings.

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Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Creator of the Zarzuela
Portrait painted in 1677 and published in the volume of *Autos sacramentales*
of the same year

Terminada 12

esta armonia a la na Casa, y Cantaba lloza calas nide tamantenarabia
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prociaro. crienta nantob. Senfu. de querella demamantelito repia en la sentina
ny yuse la de querella queimberda loer c'a camerina

A page of the MS of Act I of Juan Hidalgo's
Celos Aun del Aire Matan

in Madrid,²⁰ was lucky enough to discover the music of the first act of *Celos Aun del Aire Matan*. He devoted a chapter of his book, *La Música en la Casa de Alba* (Madrid, 1927), to this discovery, and in 1933 he published the complete result of his findings in a separate volume,²¹ including a transcription of the music. Even though it contains the music for only one act, this is the most extensive musical fragment relating to the early Spanish lyric drama thus far discovered, and it is therefore of capital importance. In the first place, it provides documentary proof that some of the early Spanish plays were set entirely to music, thus definitely refuting the theories of Pedrell on this hitherto controversial point.

Little is known of Juan Hidalgo, who composed the music for *Celos Aun del Aire Matan*, save that in 1633 he was harpist of the Chapel Royal at Madrid and that he was still living in 1680, when he wrote music for Calderón's last comedy, *Hado, y Divisa de Leonido, y de Marfisa*. He also wrote music for Calderón's *Ni Amor se Libra de Amor* (1662) and for *Los Celos Hacen Estrellas* by Juan Vélez, probably dating from the same year.²²

Celos Aun del Aire Matan was not included in any of the original editions of Calderón's works, but it is to be found in part nineteen of *Comedias Nuevas y Escogidas de los Mejores Ingenios de España*, published at Madrid in 1663. It is in three acts. It belongs to the type of pastoral play in which the protagonists are nymphs and goddesses, shepherds and shepherdesses, with rustic characters brought in for comic relief. As the play opens, the nymph Aurora is brought before Diana, charged with having been unfaithful to her vows by falling in love with the shepherd Erostrato. The penalty for this crime is death, which Diana and her nymphs forthwith prepare to administer. Zefalo and his servant Clarin, attracted by Aurora's cries of distress, appear upon the scene, and Zefalo attempts to save Aurora's life, if necessary by the sacrifice of his own. Aurora, however, is saved by the supernatural intervention of Amor, who transforms

²⁰ Among the disasters of the recent civil war in Spain was the destruction of the Palacio de Liria, presumably involving the loss of irreplaceable artistic, literary, and musical treasures.

²¹ *Celos aun del aire matan, Opera del siglo XVII* (Institut d' Estudis Catalans, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona, 1933).

²² Five musical fragments from *Los Celos Hacen Estrellas* were printed by Pedrell in his *Teatro Lírico Español Anterior al Siglo XIX* (Tomo 4 & 5). But Pedrell erroneously attributes the text to Louis Vélez de Guevara (father of Juan Vélez), who died in 1644.

her into a nymph of the air, a zephyr. Here the first act ends. Thereafter the nymph Procris, who had been strongest in her condemnation of Aurora's dereliction, becomes herself the victim of her love for Zefalo and learns to her sorrow that "jealousy, even when it comes from the air, can kill".

By 1660, when *Celos Aun del Aire Matan* was produced, Monteverdi in Italy had already made his immense contribution to the lyric drama, the Venetian school of opera had taken root and flourished, while in France Cambert and Perrin, with their "*Pastorales en Musique*", were sowing the seeds of a national opera, which Lully was soon to bring to fruition. But the music of Juan Hidalgo remains curiously unaffected by foreign influences. Rather does it show kinship with traditional Spanish sources, such as the popular *romances* or ballads, which it had long been customary to set to music. The style is definitely monodic, with the intervention of brief choruses, generally in four parts. The melody as a rule is syllabic, following the scale-line, and with few chromatic inflexions or melismas. There is no attempt at vocal elaboration—for example, Aurora's brief lament, which appears as a sort of recurring motive throughout the first act, is never extended by repetitions or other formal devices, though the melodic structure itself is varied on successive appearances in order to stress the changes in the poetic situation. The recitative follows the chord-line. In the MS score discovered by Subirá, only the figured bass is given with the voice parts, and there is no indication of what instruments may have been used in the performance. The theatrical companies usually had only harps, violins, and guitars. But the Chapel Royal had several wind instruments: bassoons, *chirimías* (a kind of primitive clarinet), and trumpets. These were doubtless available for performances at the royal palace.

One is surprised at the high tessitura of some of the writing in *Celos Aun del Aire Matan*. This may have been one of the difficulties encountered in rehearsing the work, for we are told that the preparation of the performance was a long and arduous task. This is not strange, when one considers that each theatrical company as a rule had only one musician to serve as accompanist, off-stage singer, and musical instructor or *répétiteur*. Generally only one actress—the fourth woman of the company—was a regular singer. The other actors and actresses often did not know music and had to be trained

to sing their parts by the sole musician of the troupe. Of course, in the case of a special royal performance, these resources would be augmented. But even so, the results of this operatic venture were probably not considered such as to justify the effort involved, for the performance does not appear to have obtained much success. Calderón, at any rate, wrote no more "operas", but continued instead to cultivate the comedies with music, which were always certain of success. It is not until 1698 that we have definite notice of further operatic performances in Madrid, and then for the first time they are specifically referred to as "*fiestas de opera*". But we do not know what the particular works in question were.

Native opera, however, was not destined to flourish in Spain. The first Italian opera troupe came to Spain in 1703, and it was not long before Italian companies and operatic styles began to dominate the lyric theaters throughout the land. As for the *zarzuela*, in the mythological and allegorical form established by Calderón it endured only into the first part of the 18th century. When revived in the 19th century it changed its character completely, incorporating some of the popular features of the scenic *tonadilla* which had flourished in the 18th century, and appearing in two definite types: the *zarzuela grande*, in two or more acts, and the *género chico* in one act, the latter often scarcely more than a vaudeville skit. Such is the democratic evolution of the musico-dramatic form originally devised by Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca for the entertainment of a pleasure-loving monarch and his court.

THE HIGH LIGHTS OF FRENCH OPÉRA-COMIQUE

By MAURICE CAUCHIE

SO many false ideas about the relative value of French *opéras-comiques* are current in our time that I have thought it useful to present here, not arbitrary judgments borrowed from this or that music critic who has not seriously studied the works, but the result of long labors by a society (the "Association des Amis de l'Opéra-Comique") that has specialized for ten years in the historical and practical study of French *opéra-comique*.

But first it is necessary to correct misunderstandings of the true nature of *opéra-comique*, for scarcely a week passes in which there do not appear in the press articles in which works are called *opéras-comiques* that are not, while operettas are called "*opéras-bouffes*" (and *vice versa*) and *Fidelio* is termed an "opera"!

I

WHAT IS AN OPÉRA-COMIQUE?

Is it necessary and sufficient that a musical play be gay for it to constitute an *opéra-comique*? Not at all: it is *neither necessary nor sufficient*. 1) It is not necessary: a work may be almost wholly tragic and still be a true *opéra-comique*, if it has a happy ending; 2) it is not sufficient: a musical play may be very comic and not be an *opéra-comique*, if the dialogue is sung instead of spoken.

What, then, is an *opéra-comique*? It is *a musical play that has spoken dialogue and a happy ending*, and that has, moreover, a score which fulfills the following technical requirements: 1) the music must be perfectly tonal and must rely upon the traditional punctuations of tonic and dominant cadences; 2) most of the vocal numbers must be constructed on the pattern of the various traditional types—aria, cavatina, strophic song, duet, etc.¹

¹ It may be said, incidentally, that this definition happens to fit the operetta also, which is distinguished from the *opéra-comique* only by one or more of the following characteristics: a lower musical level, triviality of the words or music, parody of *bel canto*, parody of the traditional dramatic forms, deliberate improbability.

These technical musical requirements remove from consideration a large part of the music of our time. Does this mean that *opéra-comique* is incompatible with a musical evolution? Not in the least, for the adoption of traditional forms of individual pieces and the employment of a classical framework of perfect cadences are easily compatible with the most modern harmonic and rhythmic liberties.

It has been said and repeated that, as regards musical plays, *opéra-comique* is, in France, "the eminently national genre". Nothing is truer; and it is because the French public has been, against its will, deprived of *opéra-comique*, that it has turned towards operetta, which is only a trivial substitute. The reason for this passion for *opéra-comique*, as well as for other pieces with spoken dialogue which, like *Carmen* and *Lakmé*, are far from being comic, is easy to discover. What the French have always sought in the theater, whether the play be comic or tragic, is an intense dramatic life—that is, rapid action interpreted by sparkling dialogue. Now these qualities, which are those of Corneille and Beaumarchais as well as of Labiche and Tristan Bernard, cannot be realized in a piece that is sung throughout: the German composer Brahms, who, however, can hardly be accused of frivolity, loved to repeat that *it is possible to have true dramatic vitality in a musical play only if everything that constitutes the action proper is spoken and not sung*. This fundamental truth is the confirmed opinion of the vast majority of the French public.

Let us briefly give some examples to illustrate the definition of *opéra-comique*. *Carmen*, *Manon*, and *Lakmé*, despite their spoken dialogue, are not *opéras-comiques*, because their ending is tragic; these three works are *lyric dramas* (they would be *music dramas* or *operas* if they were entirely set to music). On the other hand, Beethoven's *Fidelio*, a musical play with spoken dialogue, in which the situation is extremely tragic up to the end of the penultimate scene, is nevertheless a *very pure* specimen of true *opéra-comique*, because its ending is happy. The same is true of *Mignon*, at which sensitive audiences have always shed many tears; and of *Le Pré aux clercs*, which, ending with the death, in a duel, of the Comte de Comminge, is a true *opéra-comique* because the Comte de Comminge is hostile to the characters of the piece who arouse our sympathy.

Here are some examples concerning the other condition, that of spoken dialogue. *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, as composed by Rossini, that is, without a single spoken word, is not an *opéra-comique*: it is an

opéra bouffe or a *comédie musicale*; the same is true of Mozart's *Nozze di Figaro* and all the other comic works that this composer wrote to Italian words and that have, in the Italian fashion, recitative instead of spoken text. On the other hand, the gay works that Mozart composed to German libretti have spoken dialogue: they are consequently German equivalents of the *opéra-comique* (*Singspiele*)—*Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Die Zauberflöte*, for example.

Finally, some recent works, like M. Ibert's *Le Roi d'Yvetot*, while they are comic, with a happy ending and some slight inclination towards spoken dialogue, can by no means pass for *opéras-comiques*, for the music is not only not divided into set numbers with definite form, but it is not tonal.

II

WHICH ARE THE MASTERPIECES OF FRENCH OPÉRA-COMIQUE?

After these essential considerations, which it is necessary to dwell on at some length, in view of the present-day confusion of *genres*, let us glance briefly at the highest pinnacles of this literary and musical form, limiting ourselves to French *opéra-comique*.

On this point, too, the greatest confusion now reigns, although this confusion is much less accentuated among the great French public than in the so-called "musical" world. Most French musicians, obstinately fostering the paradox, praise 18th-century *opéra-comique* extravagantly and disparage that of the 19th century: one has so knowing, so superior, an air when one pretends to scorn the zenith of an art in order to laud to the skies only its first stammerings! One has so knowing an air, for example, when, in painting, one treats with contempt the miraculously perfect art of a Jean-Paul Laurens in order to exalt enthusiastically the crude daubs of this or that 15th-century painter!

Let us be very careful, in connection with French *opéra-comique*, not to allow our judgments to become warped by such a ridiculous state of mind. The *primitives* of *opéra-comique* are certainly interesting, but only from the historical point of view: the foolishness of the libretti, the platitudes of the melody and harmony, the clumsiness of the orchestration remove all dramatic value (that is to say,

all value) from these little works, whether their composers be named Dauvergne, Duni, Dèzède, or even Monsigny. I am aware that one encounters individual numbers here that do not lack beauty: we have heard them all at concerts; but an aria or a duet, though it may be excellent or even a masterpiece, is not enough to make a good dramatic and musical stage production.

It is only with Grétry and Dalayrac (the Dalayrac of his last style) that the early *opéra-comique* commences to be important. Successfully fostered by Boïeldieu, it attains the goal of its evolution in the first works of this composer.

But soon Boïeldieu, placing his powerful harmonic and orchestral technique at the service of *opéra-comique*, gradually enlarged its frame and produced finally (1825), in *La Dame blanche*, the model of completely developed *opéra-comique*. *La Dame blanche* is a perfect work from all points of view: a first-rate libretto, in which pathos and gaiety are mingled, melody that is at once simple and elegant, harmony of a richness that the greatest German composers of the time could have envied, a profound knowledge of musical development, and colorful orchestration. The appearance of such a masterwork dazzled Europe: Weber was enthusiastic about it and considered this work absolute perfection in the field of musical plays.

La Dame blanche is the first of four great masterpieces that constitute, so to speak, the four pillars of French *opéra-comique*: *La Dame blanche* by Boïeldieu (1825), *Le Pré aux clercs* by Hérold (1832), *Le Postillon de Lonjumeau* by Adam (1836) and *Le Domino noir* by Auber (1837). Of these four masterpieces, which dominate the whole French lyric theater, the last three date from the reign of Louis Philippe, which thus is found to be the most glorious era for *opéra-comique*.

Le Pré aux clercs, Hérold's musical testament, is surely the culminating point of *opéra-comique*, French and foreign. It is enough, moreover, to recall that Berlioz reproached Hérold (exactly as he did Wagner and almost in the same terms) for his "chromatic harmonies bristling with dissonances" and his "long appoggiaturas replacing the real note of the harmony", in order to have, *a priori*, a conception of the worth of this inspired composer, who has been justly nicknamed "the French Weber", and who is one of the great-

est musical glories of France.² In *Le Pré aux clercs* is a profusion of all sorts of happy finds: an inexhaustible verve streams ceaselessly and overflows with the most original and piquant effects into the melody, the harmony, the counterpoint, the rhythm, the orchestration.

The third great masterpiece of French *opéra-comique* is, as I have said, Adolphe Adam's *Le Postillon de Lonjumeau*. With a libretto of frolicsome gaiety without buffoonery, a score full of verve, of animation, and also of finesse, grace, and elegance, it is a truly necromantic work, the success of which, in the last century, spread throughout the world; and it is still performed regularly in Germany, especially in the national theaters.

The fourth pillar of French *opéra-comique* is *Le Domino noir*. This work is Auber's masterpiece; and it is not necessary to dwell on the nature of the masterpiece of him who was the king of *opéra-comique*: the libretto is excellent in every respect, and the score, full of spirit, is astonishingly successful from the first note to the last. *Le Domino noir* offers, besides, this peculiarity (especially delightful to those who truly love and understand *opéra-comique*): it begins, immediately after the overture, not with a musical scene, but with a long spoken scene.

Alongside these four principal masterworks, which have remained as fresh as on the day of their composition, many others also deserve to live again. Without leaving the reign of Louis Philippe, we may mention, in chronological order: Hérold's *Zampa* (1831), Adolphe Adam's *Le Châlet* (1834), Donizetti's *La Fille du régiment* (1840), Auber's *Haydée* (1847), Grisar's *Gille ravisseur* (1848), and others still. One may actually call this reign of Louis Philippe the period of the great classics of *opéra-comique*, the preceding period being (except for *La Dame blanche*) that of the primitives of the genre.

After 1850, a composer appeared who could have re-established *opéra-comique* if he had desired to produce more in this genre: Gounod. His *Philémon et Baucis* (1860) is a magnificent work, which should never have left the stage; it possesses a poetic charm that places it quite apart. It is to Gounod again that we owe *Mireille*

² Saint-Saëns, our great modern classic, was once asked to join a committee for the erection of a monument to César Franck. He refused spiritedly by way of the press, alleging that the influence of César Franck had not been beneficial to French art (he saw in him the origin of the dismemberment of harmony, from which there was bound to result, gradually, the present barbarism), and he added very wisely that a statue to Hérold would seem to him much more appropriate.

(1864), which is a very good *opéra-comique*; but it may be asked why this work, like the *Mignon* of Ambroise Thomas, has continued its career up to the present hour, when so many other and better works of the *genre*, such as those I have mentioned above, have succumbed before a coalition of theatrical directors and musical critics, banded against the public.

French *opéra-comique* ceased to be cultivated at the beginning of this century; it was then excluded from the repertory for reasons that were wholly unknown to the public. Before dying thus at the height of success, French *opéra-comique* produced, between 1887 and 1893, three important works: *Le Roi malgré lui* of Chabrier (1887), full of harmonic and orchestral skill; *La Basoche* of Messager (1890), with a perfect libretto but a score spoiled by trivialities that savor of operetta; and finally the dazzling *Phryné* of Saint-Saëns (1893), at once extremely gay and suffused with Hellenic light, an absolute masterpiece in which are found combined all the attractive qualities of the true French spirit, which is composed of fine nuances, bland irony, delicate tenderness, and instinct for proportion.

This bewitching *Phryné*, which, despite its more modern writing, conforms so perfectly to the aesthetic of French *opéra-comique* of the middle of the 19th century, offers a glimpse of what, in this attractive *genre*, one could expect of the composers of our day, if they would consent, without losing their originality, to conform strictly to the technical rules of the *genre*, which I have outlined at the beginning of this article, and if, moreover, they and their librettists would only be willing to understand that "comic" does not mean "slapstick".

While we await this evolution, it is urgent to revive, in their most important works, the great 19th-century masters of French *opéra-comique*: not only does each of them possess a powerful and individual technique that yields in no respect to that of the German composers of the same period, but they have infinitely more of wit and charm than the latter; works like *La Dame blanche*, or *Le Pré aux clercs*, or *Le Domino noir* are absolute masterpieces, to which there is really no reason for preferring *Der Freischütz*. It is to their resurrection that the "Association des Amis de l'Opéra-Comique" has been dedicated for ten years: thanks to its unceasing efforts, these masterworks have not completely perished. This association, which has no commercial interest, comprises the most competent scholars

in this field, from the musicological standpoint as well as that of practical performance conforming to the authentic "tradition", a tradition that today is known only to a very few persons. It is to be hoped that this association will acquire the artistic direction of a theater for *opéra-comique*; it would obviously be a model theater, in which the works would not be mutilated by Vandal conductors or by extravagant and incompetent stage-managers. Thus would be re-born in all its splendor this marvelous repertory, which, most completely and alluringly, expresses the spirit of France.

(Translated by N. Broder.)

THE "HOWLING IN SECONDS" OF THE LOMBARDS

A Contribution to the Early History of Polyphony

By ERNST TH. FERAND

ERRORS often are hard to kill. They "trail their curse from race to race" (to quote *Faust*) in musicology also. This is particularly true where an error has been committed or accepted by a great scholar and younger investigators have therefore believed verification unnecessary. Thus sometimes even serious blunders wander from one publication to another, unnoticed and unquestioned. Not infrequently they then become the basis upon which more or less daring theories are newly constructed.

A good example of the longevity of a musico-philological misunderstanding is the legend of the "howling in seconds of the Lombards", which, first introduced by no less a scholar than Hugo Riemann, has continued to be faithfully repeated ever since, even by eminent investigators known to be conscientious. Since hitherto no one, apparently, has felt it necessary to consult—even if only in the printed edition of Gerbert—the mediaeval author to whom the great German scholar refers as evidence, the striking report concerning an alleged part-singing in (parallel?) seconds in the last third of the 13th century, a type of polyphony that Riemann laid at the door of the Lombards, has been accepted by all musicological investigators as an uncontradicted fact. Thus even so conscientious a scholar as Robert Haas not only writes of "progressions in thirds . . . , which Elias Salomon . . . finds quite detestable in the Lombards" but he also states, with complete faith in the Riemann interpretation, that the French theorist "sometimes even heard seconds instead of thirds".¹

In actual fact, Elias Salomon does not mention such a method of counterpoint at all. How does the matter really stand?

During the Renaissance, the famous Italian theorist Franchino Gafori (Gafurius) condemns, in his *Practica musicae* (1496), a kind of two-part singing that he still finds in vogue at Milan and that he

¹ *Ausführungspraxis der Musik*, 1931, p. 53. For another recent statement based on Riemann, see Otto Ursprung, *Die katholische Kirchenmusik*, 1933, p. 140.

calls *falsus contrapunctus*. This counterpoint is "false" because the relationships considered natural in the other polyphonic techniques, especially in parallel organum and in discant, here change places with relationships regarded as unnatural. Instead of the consonances of the fifth and fourth, the sharpest dissonances—major and minor seconds, ninths, and sevenths—predominate; and, in contrast to the arrangement customary in discant, the main voice (tenor) is in the upper part while the accompanying voice (here called *succentus*) is in the lower part. According to Gafori, this remarkable survival of a primitive polyphony was used in the Ambrosian liturgy at solemn vigils in honor of martyrs, at lamentations, and at masses for the dead. In view of this special usage, one may assume that the dissonances mentioned were employed quite deliberately and indeed in improvisatory fashion as "expressionistic" means for achieving dramatic effects.

Influenced by the practice attested by Gafori, Riemann now reconsidered, from the aspect of *falsus contrapunctus*, the report of Elias Salomon, who was a French cleric, active in St. Astière (Périgord) two centuries and a half before the Italian lived. In his *Scientia artis musicae*, according to Riemann's interpretation (*Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, 2nd ed., 1920, p. 348), he "also expressed in the strongest terms his horror at the howling in seconds of the Lombards"; this howling was consequently (still according to Riemann) an "old custom". Even a brief scrutiny of the text cited by Riemann and printed by Gerbert (*Scriptores III*, p. 16 ff.) is sufficient to characterize the singing in seconds of the Lombards as a fanciful creation belonging to the realm of fable. In connection with a correct interpretation of the passage in question, however, the significance of the treatise must first be placed in the proper light.

The *Scientia artis musicae*—submitted to Pope Gregory X in 1274—occupies a special place in the series of 13th-century tracts in so far as it gives valuable information concerning the musical practice as well as the speculative theory of its time. This has already been emphasized by U. Kornmüller who, in the *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* (Jg. 4, 1889), gave a brief abstract of the contents of the treatise. Neither Kornmüller nor Riemann perceived that the practical directions (perhaps the first) for the performance of four-part music included the earliest description of "singing over the book" (*cantus supra librum*), as polyphonic improvisation over a

Gregorian plainsong was later quite generally called;² and Riemann completely overlooked Elias Salomon's important rules (with the exception of the wholly misunderstood "howling in seconds").

The important account of four-part singing is contained in Chapter 30, which bears the head *Rubrica de notitia cantandi in quatuor voces*. That four-part performance was not unconditionally confined to voices but could involve instruments also, is indicated by the frequent reference to *instrumenta sive voces*. The singing is led by a conductor (*rector*) who may himself be one of the four singers, but may also be a fifth participant. The bass is the fundamental voice and the other voices are constructed above it in succession, that is, each singer, when beginning, has to await the entrance of the next lower voice before he himself enters. The singers must be in contact with and see each other. The author emphatically warns against an increase in the number of the parts or of the singers ("for if more than four sing it leads to a confusion and corruption of the whole song"), just as did also, a half-century later, Jacques de Liège, the supposed compiler of the greatest musical encyclopaedia of his time—the *Speculum musicae*. As a horrible example, Elias Salomon cites the canons of Lyons (*domini canonici de Lugduno*), who, if they desire to sing the Responsorium and Alleluia on high festival days, ascend to the choir (*ascendunt multum in altum*) in groups of ten or thirteen, attired in their best robes, and try to surpass each other in loud singing, apparently in the hope of inciting the angels to join the competition. (Gerbert III, p. 58 f.)

The most informative passage of the treatise, however, concerns the natural disposition of the voices. According to Elias Salomon, their order is as follows. The first (lowest) voice sings the plainsong, the second voice (next above) sings the fifth above the bass, the third voice the octave above it, and the fourth voice the twelfth above it—that is, the octave above the second voice. That the distances between the neighboring voices are not the same, is, as the author explicitly states, based on the relationship of the consonances of the fifth and fourth, which together yield the octave.

It is not unequivocally clear from the wording of the text whether the fifth-octave disposition of the voices is to be retained *throughout*—that is, whether we are still dealing here, in the second half of the 13th century, with a remnant of the old parallel organum—or is

² Cf. my detailed study, *Die Improvisation in der Musik* etc., Zürich, 1938.

only to be taken at the beginning by the voices, which afterwards may proceed in contrary motion, somewhat in the manner of discant. It is worthy of note that Elias Salomon speaks in the foreword of a *scientia organizandi*, but this, to be sure, in the confusion governing mediaeval and early Renaissance terminology, does not count for much; for two hundred years later (1487) Nicolaus Bur-
tius (in the *Musices Opusculum*) still speaks of even fauxbourdon-singers as *organizantes*! That it is parallel organum that was meant by Elias Salomon, as Kornmüller supposed, does not necessarily follow from the passage cited by the latter as evidence in support of his view. The 13th-century author stipulates (Gerbert III, p. 40) that the melodies of the fourth, third, and second voices should be in the same tone as the first voice and that consequently the three upper voices should be arranged "in the same letters and notes of the [Guidonian] hand" in which the first voice (namely, the *cantus firmus*) proceeds; but this still does not mean also that the same distance is to be retained throughout; the requirement is merely established that the accompanying voices be in the same mode as the *cantus firmus* (*sunt eiusdem toni*). The expression *in eisdem litteris & punctis in palma* employed here by Elias Salomon corresponds somewhat to the designation, more common at that period, *claves* and *voces* of the Guidonian hand (*manus*).

Now Riemann completely overlooked the very clear and unequivocal statements concerning the disposition of the voices (*Et est sciendum, quod secunda vox differt a prima per quinque punctos, tertia a secunda differt quatuor punctos, quarta a tertia quinque*. Gerbert III, p. 59); and he cites and glosses the next passage (explicitly referring to Gerbert III, p. 60, but quoting incorrectly) as follows: "*non tamen cantus Lombardorum, qui ululant ad modum luporum. Quod manifesti [sic!] patet; non [sic!] si unus laicus audiret alium laicum cantare in prima bassa [sic!], bene saliret recta in tertia non autem aliquo modo in secunda*. This is indeed barbaric enough, but one understands what he means." (*Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, p. 348, footnote.)

The citation is "barbaric enough", to be sure, in Riemann's corrected version, and one understands what Elias Salomon really means only in connection with his foregoing exposition and above all only after correcting what Riemann alleges to be the text. What Gerbert actually has, is: *Quod manifeste patet; nam si unus laicus audiret*

alium laicum cantare in prima bassa voce, bene saliret recta in tertia, non autem aliquo modo in secunda; vel e contrario de tertia in prima, sed nunquam in secunda—that is, they sing in octaves instead of polyphonically (in fifths)! This has as little to do with singing in seconds as does the following passage, which Riemann seems to have misunderstood quite as completely: *Sunt quidam, qui quando reincipiunt cantus, saliant novem punctos in tertia voce ad modum laicorum, quando debent esse contenti quatuor punctis vel quinque* (Gerbert III, p. 59). In other words, there are some who, when they resume the song, enter incorrectly an octave above the *cantus*—that is, they join the singer or singers of the third part, in the manner of laymen, when the parts assigned to them are really the second or fourth part and they should therefore be singing a fourth lower or a fifth higher than they actually are. It should be added that *novem punctos* does not mean a ninth, as Riemann assumes, with the singing in seconds in mind, but, in Elias Salomon's terminology, an octave—a fifth plus a fourth ($5+4=9!$).

Thus upon closer examination the "barbaric howling in seconds", which could have been supposed a sort of gymel (two-part song, rich in thirds) gone wrong, is shown to be a completely harmless and natural by-product of early polyphony.

The whole situation is again explained in a rule transmitted in hexameter-form (*Tertia cum prima resonat, quia capit in ima, Dat modulus quarta mediante voce secunda*), which likewise indicates that the first and third voices, as well as the second and fourth, stand in octave-relationship. It is also stipulated that the singers be arranged in the order just specified and that, to distinguish among themselves visually, they wear choir-robcs (*cappa*) of different colors—violet for the singers of the first and third parts, red for the singers of the second and fourth.

A similar precept in verse, as well as the same order of the voices, is found half a century later in the *Summa musicae* attributed to Johannes de Muris (indeed the author expressly refers to Elias Salomon in the foreword):

*Pars prior in gravibus canit, altera
cum diapente
Tertia, quarta duplex diapason
addit neque lente.*

The first of the parts is the lowest, the second voice sings a fifth higher, Undraggingly octaves are added by the third and fourth parts of the choir.

Finally, the relationships governing four-part improvised singing were schematically represented by Elias Salomon in a drawing, reproduced opposite after the frontispiece in Gerbert's *Scriptores*, Vol. III, efforts to obtain a photograph of the original having been unsuccessful. It shows, in an allegorical representation conforming to the scholastic-mystic spirit of its time, the four singers (one of them, as *rector*, conducting) arranged to form the shape of a half-moon (*ad modum lunae*), as they sing grouped about the music-stand, "over the book", which displays the plainsong (a Marian antiphon). They are surrounded by tables of the concords, which are disposed in magic semi-circles, reflecting the old doctrine of the harmony of the spheres, and the design is such that they are—literally—"bound" by the rules and directions, laid down for the first time, for four-part singing. The outer semi-circle shows the distance between the outer voices (a twelfth), while the inner shows the "artistic" (more correctly, the "natural") distance of one voice from another. (. . . *in prima circumferentia figurae continentur numerus duodecim punctorum, qui est necessarius ad complementum cantus quatuor vocum. In secunda circumferentia continetur, per quot punctos una vox artificialiter differt ab alia.* Gerbert III, p. 59.) The choir-robcs of the first and third singers—that is, the robes Elias Salomon recommends be in violet—are decorated by crescents and are thus distinguished from the robes of the second and fourth singers—the ones he advises be in red—which are ornamented by stars.

The theory that the polyphonic practice described by Elias Salomon could have been really a kind of parallel organum, would seem to be supported by the appearance of another kind of parallel organum in the vocal practice of a still later time. The Englishman Simon Tunstede describes in his *Quatuor principalia musicae* (1351) a highly singular mixture-form of improvised part-singing. Here organum, with four voices at the exact distances mentioned by Elias Salomon (fifth-octave-twelfth), is combined with a discant-voice that proceeds—principally or exclusively—in thirds and sixths (hence in fauxbourdon style), and that is diminished (i.e. embellished) and performed by a soloist. Of this noteworthy practical discant-technique, its advocate asserts that it "indeed appears difficult to the hearer but it is actually very easy". Here also, to be sure, the passage concerning the parallel voice-leading in fifths and octaves is not absolutely unambiguous. (*Hii omnes in concordantiis inceptis,*



continuabunt planum cantum usque ad finem. Coussemaker, *Scriptores* IV, p. 294.)

There result here interesting relationships with the "sight" doctrine of the 15th century. It seems to me a warranted assumption that the roots of this vocal practice of simultaneous, transposed reading of all the parts improvised by the singers from a single written part, a practice known from its connection with English discant or fauxbourdon,³ go back to the method of singing described by Elias Salomon, if not to a still older one. For the method of transposition with "mene", "treble", and "quatreble", described (in the first quarter of the 15th century) by Power and other English writers, coincides exactly with the voice-order—fifth, octave, and twelfth—specified by Elias Salomon and Tunstede. In the practice described by Elias Salomon also there is *only one part* (the plainsong) *notated*, while the other parts are sung in various registers (hence in various "sights"). It was the skill involved in singing thus that (according to Elias Salomon) the "lay" singers lacked. The differences between the fully developed sight doctrine and the practice of the 13th century and still earlier result merely from the changes in the rules of polyphonic technique that occurred after the period of parallel organum; although, to be sure, in fully developed fauxbourdon, despite the predominance of parallel thirds and sixths, the rules still required perfect consonances at the beginning and end, an arrangement familiar to us from Elias Salomon and the still older three- and four-part organum (see for a very early example, the *Musica Enchiriadis*).

If the roots of the sight doctrine, as we have observed, seem to extend further into the past than has previously been assumed, it is also true that there are after-effects of this transcription-practice that reach farther along into the years than has hitherto been noted. Their traces can be followed as far as the instrumentally accompanied vocal music of the early 16th century.

The Petrucci publications of 1507-09 contain arrangements—provided by the lutenists Fr. Spinacino, Joanambrosio Dalza, and Franciscus Bossinensis—for a solo voice with lute accompaniment of the most popular pieces from the first nine of the famous eleven

³ For the distinction between English discant and fauxbourdon, see the dissertation by Manfred Bukofzer: *Geschichte des englischen Diskants und des Fauxbourdons* (Strasbourg, 1936).

books of *frottole* that Petrucci published in 1504-14. These transcriptions of compositions originally set for four voices by B. Tromboncino, M. Cara, Filippo de Lurano, and many others, display a peculiar transposition-practice, which is recognizable as an after-effect of the sight-doctrine extending into the 16th century.

The transcription-procedure of these lutenists is the most primitive imaginable. The *cantus* (here the top voice) of the four-part original setting is taken over note for note—as for example in the collection *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati* etc. by Fr. Bossinensis (Venice, 1509)—and allotted to the solo voice, which is in mensural notation, and indeed (*for the eye*) in the original position on the staff and with the soprano or mezzo-soprano clef of the original. The accompaniment, notated in the so-called "Italian" lute-tablature, contains the tenor and bass of the original with slight alterations (merely those required by instrumental technique); the *altus* of the four-part vocal setting, however, is simply omitted without ceremony. The result, to be sure, is not always free of bad distortions, especially in the instrumental interludes, in which the snatches of imitation that occur in the original are scarcely recognizable as such in the transcriptions. An explanation for this unscrupulous transcription-practice can be found only in a particular circumstance obtaining at that period. In vocal composition the voices generally were not yet written simultaneously but in succession and indeed in the order *tenor-cantus-bassus-altus*. The *altus*, as the voice added last, was considered the least important one and could be omitted if necessary—a procedure that was quite commonly practised in the tablature-writing of the 16th-century lutenists.

Although Bossinensis, as has been said, always retains the top part in its original register, the lute accompaniment is not always in the original mode but may be, for example, in the Ionian instead of the Mixolydian, in which case, of course, the vocal part must be transposed to fit. Bossinensis expresses this with the annotation, which on first reading seems very complicated: *La voce del sopran al terzo tasto de la sottana*, by which he means that the singing has to begin with the tone that corresponds to the third fret on the second highest string. Because the notation of the upper voice is kept exactly as it was in the original, this part must be read in one of the "sights" (in this instance a fourth higher or a fifth lower). In another piece the annotation for the solo voice (notated in the soprano clef)

reads: *La voce del sopran al canto vodo*, that is, the voice must begin with the tone of the open highest string—and the solo voice is thus called upon to apply still another "sight".

This seemingly complicated transposition-procedure was basically very simple—it had to be, since it was connected with a literature intended for amateurs. Actually even these annotations placed not the slightest difficulties in the way of either the singer or the lute-player, who often enough were one and the same person. For the singer quite simply began with the tone indicated by the given direction, without troubling himself in the least about the absolute pitch. The lutenist did not have to take absolute pitch into account either or even the names of the notes, for the tablature showed, quite simply and indeed quite mechanically (by the lines representing the six strings and the numbers representing the frets), the fingering to be employed.

The concordance relationships described above, illustrated by Elias Salomon in an allegorical-mystical manner and traceable to the still older monochord speculations and representations, are the starting point for those dry tables that keep appearing later, especially in the 16th-century Italian theorists. The first is Pietro Aaron, a canon of Rimini, who in his *Thoscanello de la Musica* (as the title of the first edition, 1523, correctly reads), gives a complete compilation—and in the order *cantus-tenor-bassus-altus*—of all the interval combinations usable in four-part setting, naturally including thirds and sixths, which at that time had long been accepted as consonant. Even here, then, the voices seem still to follow a successive order, as they had done when Elias Salomon told his singers to enter one after the other over the bass. But Aaron—and doubtless he was the first theorist to do this—points out expressly that the *moderni* plan the parts not according to a definite succession, but *simultaneously*. Here is clearly indicated a great step forward towards a chordal conception of music, a step that led from a successive formation of the voices to a simultaneous conception of them, from primitive improvised polyphony in fifths and fourths to the acceptance of thirds and sixths (if at first only as "imperfect" consonances) not only in improvisation but also in the composition that was written down—the *res facta*.

Aaron knew as little about a singing in seconds as did Elias Salomon. The second was always considered "bad" (*mala species*) by the theorists, and was allowed only under very circumscribed condi-

tions (as a suspension, passing-tone, and the like). The appearance of the second in the earliest treatises on organum (*Musica Enchiriadis*, the *Micrologus* of Guido d'Arezzo, etc.) does not constitute an exception. Here too this interval is used only in oblique motion. In practice too, as in theory, the second seems, in early western polyphony, to have arisen out of a linear feeling—as, for example, when the long melismata in the upper voice flowed over the drone-like sustained tones of the tenor in the first notated organa (of Limoges, Compostela, Paris) —, scarcely ever appearing, however, as a deliberately planned vertical interval. The sole exception would seem to be the (conscious?) employment of the second, mentioned by Gafori, in lamentations and the like, which employment, however, seems based on the special nature of the occasion.

The use of the second as a vertical interval is by no means, of course, limited to early European polyphony. The connections between early western polyphony and that of primitive peoples—connections that have recently been becoming clearer owing to the investigations of comparative musicologists—involve the interval of the second also. Illustrations of the use of seconds in non-European polyphony (including instrumental music) have been published by Hornbostel, Lachmann, Marius Schneider, and others. Particularly striking is the appearance—reported by Hornbostel,⁴ Schneider,⁵ and, more recently, George Herzog⁶—of true parallel seconds in the songs of the Admiralty and Caroline Islanders. The abundant and consistent use of this interval, which is employed in polyphony only occasionally elsewhere, seems on the whole to be a special peculiarity of the music of the South Sea Islands (Melanesia, Polynesia, Micronesia), although it appears sporadically in other places also, and even in Europe (in Istrian folk-song). Thus the expression, "howling in seconds", with which Riemann "honored" the singing of the Lombards, would seem to be undoubtedly more justified here.

If we now consider Gafori's statement about the singing in seconds practised in the Milan Church and, further, the seconds encountered in the earliest organum-theory, polyphony in seconds, appearing so widely separated in time and space, presents an arresting problem to comparative musicology and musical psychology. It is

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Heft 1, 1910, p. 141.

⁵ *Geschichte der Mehrstimmigkeit* 1, examples 68 and 69.

⁶ *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-10*, II. Band 9, II. Halbband, p. 270 f., 274, etc. (Hamburg, 1936.)

perhaps as interesting as the problem concerning the use of the pentatonic scale in the widely separated cultures of Chinese, Scotch, and North American Negro music. While the occasional appearance of seconds and other "dissonances" may be easily explained by the technique of variant-heterophony frequently used in primitive polyphony, and in addition by their use together with drones, possibly also by the beginnings of imitation ("canon"), the explanation of the appearance of consistent parallel seconds offers serious difficulties.

The possible assumption that in these primitive examples we must be dealing only with progressions intended as parallel thirds, would not be tenable. True parallel seconds seem to appear too frequently and too consistently. This assumption may, however, possibly fit other instances, as for example the "very large seconds" in the songs of the Bayot in Portuguese Guinea (Schneider I, example 253), or the "very narrow thirds, equivalent to seconds" in the East Carolines (Herzog, p. 274).

The explanation for the appearance of such consistent parallel-leading in seconds might be sought in the first place in the undeveloped feeling for pitch and group-singing. Two primitive singers sing the melody without bothering about or even noticing whether they are singing in unison or in any other interval. There may thus arise, quite accidentally, instead of unisons or octaves (as when men sing with women or children), a singing in fifths or thirds—also, however, quite as easily, in seconds. Which intervals are to appear will be determined by one of two principles. Where the widely differing vocal registers of men, women, and children are combined, the chances are favorable for the appearance of octaves, fifths, and fourths. The attempt to sing in unison is likely to produce a relative duplication rather than an exact one. It might be said that the relationship-principle (*Verwandschaftsprinzip*) has come into play. Where only men sing together, or women, or children, the slight difference in register may easily favor a singing in seconds. Here the attempt to sing in unison may again produce a relative duplication, but at a much narrower distance. One might call the principle here in force the distance-principle (*Distanzprinzip*). People singing under the effect of this principle may be further helped towards a use of seconds by an unconscious familiarity with them, acquired by listening to primitive instruments (drums etc.), which are mostly deficient in definite pitch and often produce noises similar to seconds. The eventual

predominance of parallel thirds in European polyphony may perhaps be explained by the very fact that the third fits both principles equally well.

However we choose to look at the appearance of seconds and even of parallel seconds in primitive music, the fact remains that here also interesting relationships are revealed between early western and non-European polyphony.

(Translated by N. Broder)

CARNIVAL SONGS AND THE ORIGINS OF THE *INTERMEZZO GIOCO*

By FEDERICO GHISI

GENERALLY speaking, histories of music tend to ignore the position of carnival songs in the formal development of Italian secular music in the 15th and 16th centuries. Instead they limit themselves to mentioning them incidentally from the purely literary point of view.

Accordingly, we read in Lasca's preface¹ that the first song or masque of Lorenzo the Magnificent to be sung was that of "*gli uomini che vendevano bericuocoli e confortini*", set to music by a certain Arrigo Tedesco—that is, Heinrich Isaac, the famous composer. From this song originated the somewhat vague musical reputation of the carnival style of song, the musical sources of which the historians of the past wrongly considered to have been altogether lost.

Contrary, however, to the vague indications offered by the editions of carnival literature to which our knowledge was formerly limited, the collections of music recently brought to light prove that the material in our hands today is more than sufficient for an ample documentation of the manner in which the Triumphs and the Masques used to be sung during the Medicean carnivals.²

Now by enlarging the field of research and noting the affinity of style between the carnival song and other forms, such as the 14th-century musical *caccia*, the *villota a quattro*³, the *frottola*, and the *villanella* of the 16th century, it is possible to place musical events in Italy on wider historical foundations, favorable to the likelihood of correct interpretation. I shall accordingly set forth briefly the musical forms of Italian secular lyric poetry, from the *ballate* and *cacce* of the Tuscan *Ars nova* to the beginnings of the musical *Intermezzi giocosi* in the early part of the *Seicento*.

¹ Antonfrancesco Grazzini detto il Lasca. *Tutti i Trionfi, Carri, Mascherate o Canti Carnascialeschi*, Florence, Torrentino, 1559.

² See Federico Ghisi. *I Canti Carnascialeschi nelle fonti musicali del XV e XVI secolo*, Leo Olschki, Florence 1937.

³ See Fausto Torrefranca, *I primordi della polifonia nel Cinquecento*, in the magazine *Nuova Antologia*, Rome, November, 1934.

The carnival song, or *canto carnascialesco*, which appeared in Florence at the end of the 15th century, is connected with the *ballata*, the universal expression of Italian popular poetry. The *ballata* having lent itself, from the 14th century, to the masquerades of the companies of arts and trades, tended more and more to change its character, the figures and symbols of those masquerades eventually becoming closely linked to it.

We find the same spirit already present in the 14th-century *caccia*, a representation perhaps of country customs and speech in rhyme, which, besides incidents of the hunt ("*caccia*"), had for its subject fishing scenes, punctuated by the calls of itinerant vendors, and market and street scenes. To show the character of this specifically Tuscan form with its sharp and amusing contrasts, I may mention the *caccia* of the papal singer Zaccaria.⁴ In it a hunter, looking for sport, hears the call of "crabs, crabs, fresh fish", and other calls such as "rags, broken glass, old iron"; a wild disturbance breaks out, and here the poem describes a scene, perhaps theatrical, in which all the life of a whole market-place of the period passes before our eyes, with the chaffering of the buyers and the musical cries with which the vendors praise their wares. One is tempted to believe that, as Carducci says,⁵ these *cacce* were performed, like the later carnival songs, by choruses—with the gestures and equipment of each trade—, probably holding up to the public some animal of forest or stream.

At the end of the Quattrocento, the tendency of the style of the Italian secular music already in existence, inspired by the meter of the popular *ballata*, in a very special manner influenced the *frottola*, which flourished vigorously at the most musical courts of Italy. At Florence, the old *canzone a ballo*, raised to the rank of literature under the humanistic influence of the Medici, was among the first poetic forms to benefit musically by the homophonic character of the *frottola* and took on this style also. The old rough *canzoncine a ballo*, sung at the May Festivals (*Calendimaggio* or *Maggiolate*), had become uninteresting to the ears of the Florentines, because they had long remained the same, accompanying the masquerades of the "*madonne*" among the no. always seemly jests of young men and women. The songs that reverberated during the Tuscan May

⁴ Transcribed into modern notation by J. Wolf in *Florenz in der Musikgeschichte des XIV Jahrhunderts*, in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, III.

⁵ G. Carducci, *Cacce in rima dei sec. XIV-XV*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1896, p. 11.

Canzone per andare in maschera p carnesciale facte da piu persone.



Singers of Canti Carnascialeschi



Festivals, the precursors of the carnival song, have unfortunately been almost entirely lost.

The generally liberal Medici family proceeded, with the increase of its power, to encourage the fine arts, and, while holding the political reins in a firm grasp, promoted, as a rule of prime importance, every form of amusement and spectacle. So that Florence saw new customs and many styles of poetry flourish, from the triumphs and masquerades through the streets to the carnival song, from the Platonic banquets at Careggi (the villa of Lorenzo the Magnificent) to the *sacre rappresentazioni*.

It has always been a wide-spread opinion among historians that Lorenzo the Magnificent, desiring to extinguish the spirit of liberty in Florence, gave excessively free rein to the license of carnival customs, so that songs and festivals might distract the people from an interest in state affairs. It seems to me, however, that these customs were founded primarily on the character of the Florentines, inclined by nature to festivals and amusements. As we have seen, the pastimes in question had their Florentine forerunners. But the inclination, to be sure, was usually manifested in close connection with the radical transformation of civic social life and with the decline of political liberty. The taste for merry-making found a particularly ready satisfaction through the personal work of Lorenzo the Magnificent, in which were brought together all the chief features of the Florence of the period—culture, wit, and artistic genius. From his time, probably, dates an anonymous proposal for the reform of the ancient feasts of St. John, in which the *edifici* (kinds of contrivances or apparatus of a spectacular nature, to be carried about in processions) are replaced by four magnificent "Triumphs", since the time tended to another kind of spectacle and the sacred functions had probably become tiresome. Before the Magnificent, men used to wear masks during the carnival and to imitate the *madonne* who mingled in the May Festival, and thus disguised as women and girls they sang *canzoni a ballo*. Lorenzo, starting from these precedents, introduced the grandeur of the triumphs and of the cars of masqueraders and increased their numbers, desiring to celebrate the carnival with extraordinary festivities; and such was the magnificence and so great was the expense that the attributions of popular report saw in him the prime mover in the invention of this mode of conducting festivities and in the composition of the songs for them.

Lorenzo, having considered the importance that might be acquired by a style of music and poetry, essentially popular but raised to the level of art, thought it well to vary in the usual *canzoni a ballo* used for the May Festivals, not only the tonal setting and the manner of composing the words, by means of new and diversified musical motives and a wider choice of lyrical meters, but also the subject matter.

It was customary, then, for numerous companies and bands to perform divers spectacles representing either the return of some triumphant warrior, with trophies, cars, and other decorations, or some feat of ancient chivalry. These shows exercised the talents of the Florentine artists, who vied with one another in rendering them more amusing, strange, or awe-inspiring. Antonio Grazzini, called *il Lasca*, relates in his well-known preface that "it was usual to give these performances by night, as the best means of concealing the defects of the execution and of giving a better illusion to the eyes of the spectators. It was a very fine sight to see passing through the town in the evenings, after dinner, until three or four o'clock in the morning, twenty-five or thirty pairs of horses richly caparisoned, with their noble riders disguised and masked according to the nature of the representation, six or eight lackeys for each of them, dressed in the same livery, carrying torches which sometimes numbered more than four hundred, rendering the night as bright as day, and the spectacle beautiful and pleasing and, in truth, superb." Then followed the cars, wonderfully decorated, loaded with ornaments or the spoils of victories, or with all the attributes of the guild that happened to be represented by classical and popular allegories or by sumptuous and indecent triumphs. The victories were imaginary ones, to be sure, dealing with mythological subjects, and in them the sole choral rôle was performed by that group of the people which, through social condition and artisan category, constituted the corporations of the arts and crafts of the Communes. And so the carnival was a time of enjoyment. The people wanted it to be on this big theatrical scale, so that they might take part in it disguised. And thus there passed through the streets of Florence the allegories of the virtues and vices, and masked bands of the professions and trades.

In short, the *canto carnascialesco* was a grandiose lyrical-dramatic chorus, in the performance of which masked men on cars represented the customs and trades of the people, the purport of the

canto being seldom moral, more often satirical. Carducci saw here the origin of the Italian travelling theater, as the cars of Thespis had been that of the Athenian drama. I would go even further and say that in the carnival song are to be found such elements of song and dance, the chorus being interrupted by dialogue and solo passages, as to constitute *in nuce* the origin of theatrical lyric comedy. Thus, in the *Canto dell' oppenione* of G. B. dell' Ottonaio, all the participants in the masquerade were dressed in different ways, according to the types by which the text was supposed to be uttered. Each character expressed, as in a theatrical performance, the different ideas and opinions of ordinary human beings—"a rough countryman, a baker, and a tailor, who make critical remarks on music, painting, and the poets".

No less numerous are the songs whose texts represent the life of some popular artisan types, or caricatures of certain situations, such as those concerning "young women married to old husbands". To the old men who ask, "Pray, tell us why you left us", the wives answer, "Misfortune take you, you foolish, mad old men!"—a sort of dialogue that can be found in theatrical scenes of every period. I might mention also the amusing adventures of the "maidens carried off by the pirates", in which the moral of the story is propounded by a fish, an allusion being thus made to the net in which the corsairs catch the beautiful young women. And also in the verses about "the widows and the doctors", "the girls and the grasshoppers", "the countrywomen of Narcetri who have lost their husbands among the carnival crowd", in all of these, with their realistic jesting, the note of gaiety rings simultaneously with that of satire.

The famous "Car of Death", the serious nature of which astounded the Florentine spectators, and other "Triumphs" of an essentially ornamental character, such as that of the "Broncone", displayed on the occasion of the visit of Pope Leo X, with its splendid decorations of mythological deities and allegorical virtues, make it clear to us that the visual expression of the carnival song was also of a scenic nature, with all the adjuncts of pantomime. The personification of the song characters by the chorus was made manifest to the eye by means of various disguises, ornamentation, and other equipment, adapted to signifying the meaning or symbolism of the masquerade.

The musical aspect of these compositions is usually grave and

solemn, in contrast with the quick and lively character to be expected of carnival songs. To understand this, we must go back to the musical spirit of those times. We find a homophonic style of writing, rich in harmonic feeling, but equally suitable for secular and sacred music. Only by the text could the class of a composition be discerned; it could not be ascertained by the character of the music alone. This style, after a fashion spanning both grave and gay, had its advantages, for the lamenting, mourning, or imploring that we find in some of the songs was in fact adopted purely for the purposes of carnival caricature or satire.

Proceeding with the historical evolution of secular forms in Italian music, we find, still in the first quarter of the 16th century, some *frottole* that reveal a marked tendency towards dramatic expression. These ballads of carnival character, whose typical beginning consists of the words "*Noi siamo*" ("*We are*"), in fact are echoes of the masques and triumphs of the glorious days of *il Magnifico*, and their characteristics as artisan songs continue, transforming themselves little by little so as to fit into choral songs to be sung as intermezzos and parts of scenes on special occasions or holidays. And thus are heard once more the street cries, the witty retorts in dialect, the double meanings, the lines assigning to each character much boasting of his own trade or larger offerings of his merchandise. The well known *frottola* "*Pan de miglio caldo caldo*" ("Hot millet cakes") is an amusing interlude about vendors whose art consists in being able to coax the buyer by praising the merchandise with the cry, "Buy, buy, for this is hot".

No less characteristic is the *frottola* of the sawyers, ending with an instrumental *coda* which masqueraders danced in the *piazza* before the public. In fact, if the carnival *frottola* comes nearer to the country life of the markets and squares as portrayed in some of the Italian 14th-century *cacce*, it still preserves those dramatic and parodistic components of the Medicean carnival song that we later find again among the figures of the *commedia dell' arte* at Naples, Bologna, and Venice.

At Naples the first *villanelle*, set to music by anonymous composers, trace their origin to the songs of the country people. This origin injected into the Neapolitan *villanella* certain carnival elements which, mixed with those of the local masquerades, lent themselves admirably, in a town as rich in color and street types as

Naples, to a still livelier development within the frame of burlesque dialogue. Compositions such as these, as well as *moresche* in Neapolitan dialect, in which colored people and slaves from the south came into play, were presented along the seaside by popular actors. To the pure spirit of carnival masquerade were added local characters, such as the negresses Lucia, Giorgia, and Cuccurruca, in an atmosphere of sharp popular realism. One readily understands how the intense musical fantasy of Orlando di Lasso, in his *Secondo Libro di Canzoni, Villanesche e Moresche*, could not remain insensible to so much exotic vivacity.

To cap the climax, the full development of Italian 15th-century secular forms is attained, a century later, in the madrigalesque comedy of Orazio Vecchi, in which the sensibility of the madrigal blends with the character of the *commedia dell' arte*, with the carnivalesque qualities of the *frottola* and *villanella*, and with elements of the choral parts of the *balletto* of Gastoldi. In fact, starting with the *Veglie* ("Vigils") of the capricious Vecchi, we find caricatured, according to Doni,⁶ peoples such as Germans, Moors, Jews, and Turks, singing in various dialects in a burlesque and parodistic manner, besides certain types of characters from the carnival masques and the *commedia dell' arte*. Mention should be made also of the masquerades of Giovanni Croce Chiozoto, which, with their fishermen, beggarwomen, women of Burano, and dancers (*furlani*), could not better illustrate the characteristic popular types that constitute the basic characters of a comedy literature in embryo.

Many of these works of the Cinquecento were probably to be seen at private performances or, for pay, at public festivals. Performances were given at the numerous Academies of Venetia, Emilia, and Tuscany (the Academy of the "Spensierati" in Florence is well known), where the actors were not professionals but amateurs. Women were excluded from the assemblies, because of their allegedly somewhat licentious nature. These compositions consisted of short scenic intermezzos introduced into ordinary prose comedies. The characters, usually masculine, were costumed as gardeners, potters, weavers, etc., with the tools of their trade, and they assumed different attitudes, perhaps in pantomime, according to the meaning of the song. This was sung by an ensemble of several voices, that

⁶ G. B. Doni, *Trattato de' Generi e de' Modi*, Rome, 1635.

being the principal means of musical expression at the time, and this body, subdivided, served to represent musically the various parts of the actors or merely a single character or a whole group.

It is just these popular and artisan figures, already protagonists in the first carnival songs and in the dramatic madrigal of Vecchi, that are found, together with the characters of the *commedia dell' arte*, as the *dramatis personae* that perform intermezzos or entire scenes in the comic melodrama of the 17th century.

Among the dancers in the musical play *La Fiera di Palestrina* (1640) by Loreto Vittori, we have a gipsy, a pastry-cook, and some artisans, and it contains a three-voice intermezzo for chimney-sweepers. This is one of the first musical plays, inspired by characters and customs typically Italian. In it the noise of the crowd at the fair, the shouts of the vendors and charlatans—as in the old days of the *cacce* and the carnival festivals—live again, unchanged in spirit, on the comic stage. The musical form, following the course of historic evolution, offers us a mixture of spoken prose, sung passages, madrigalesque choruses, and dances. The story of this *Fiera* ("Fair") was suggested to Vittori by its famous forerunner, the *Fiera di Farfa*, inserted in the second act of *Chi soffre spera* (1639) by Virgilio Mazzocchi and Marco Marazzoli. This intermezzo is the first spectacle of its kind and among the most noteworthy. To the cry of the strolling vendor, "Who wants to buy rare ribbons, combs and mirrors and very fine veils, let him come here with his money", the chorus answers, "Let him come, let him come here with his money"; and scenes of rustic poetry like this one are followed by episodes of pure realism.

The subject of the Italian country "Fairs", in which the life of a district is portrayed, was several times taken up again in the course of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, by certain composers who gave us works in which there breathed the true spirit of comedy. The most important of these composers were, in the early 17th century, Marco da Gagliano, who set to music a "Fair" text by Michelangiolo Buonarroti, the younger; in the 18th century, Fischietti, who composed the *Fiera di Malmantile* and Salieri with his *Fiera di Venezia*; and, in the 19th century, Lauro Rossi and also Stefano Pavesi, whose *Fiera* was performed at the Pergola Theater in Florence.

In conclusion, let us not fail to note that the far-off echo of the street-cry of the travelling vendor and of some classes of artisans

whom we have heard in the 14th-century *cacce* and in the carnival *frottole*, still resounds in our own day in the Neapolitan *opera buffa*. We continue to hear, from Jommelli's *Il Parataio*, the cry "Come, Come," of Fille, who, as a birdseller, sings the air, "Chi vuol comprar la bella calandrina?", still popular as a separate number. And, from a time nearer our own, that of the Verdian melodrama and the years just after it, who does not remember the exit of the street-vendor in the third act of *La Forza del Destino* and, at the beginning of the second act of Puccini's *La Bohème*, the lively picture painted, in a few measures of music, of the vendors of vegetables, chestnuts, and milk? We have also the cry of the orange-seller in Zandonai's *Conchita*; and Gustave Charpentier's *Louise* is interwoven with the cries of Parisian street-vendors, which are descendants of the far-off *Cris de Paris* of Clément Jannequin, the first of the French impressionist musicians, and Richard Dering's "Cries of London".

The voice of the people always speaks or sings in its own living accents; and, wherever it is heard—throughout the history of the Italian theater—, it imbues the work of the artist's fancy with a breath of truth and life.

GUSTAVE CHARPENTIER

By KATHLEEN O'DONNELL HOOVER¹

"**A**MONG my students", wrote Massenet, reminiscing over his later years at the Conservatoire, "there was one who longed above all else to startle with his writing. 'That must not be your aim', I admonished him. 'Let your temperament speak for you. Find some pretty young girl. Allow your heart to say what it will'. It was Charpentier." Gustave Charpentier, the lyrical protagonist of youth and revolutionary ideals, whose love was to be dedicated to a city—the *ville féerique* that Paris seemed to him on arriving from the drab provinces, whose loyalty was to be given to a type, of which Mimi Pinson of sewing-room dreams and drudgery was the symbol! De Musset created her, Murger developed her, Charpentier was to perpetuate her. His will to startle was to have only partial realization, through his choice of subject-matter and the treatment he was to give it; his music was to be intrinsically derivative in style, recalling Gounod, with echoes from the ballad-writer Delmet, the "*Massenet des pauvres*", when it was not in the vein of Wagner. Yet his music was to sound an unmistakably "personal note", which not only characterized the *fin de siècle* but heralded the new century.

His one notable opera, nearly forty years since it first saw the footlights, may have ceased to shock. Standards have changed since its pre-war heyday, and the "right to be free", for comely and eager young women, is an outmoded issue. Still, *Louise* survives, not by the daring of its music or the timeliness of its theme, but by its unprecedented cast of characters, in which the leading rôle is allotted to an abstraction—Paris. Each of its forty-two personages has human form with the exception of the principal one, whose expression is exclusively symphonic. In this respect the work is unique. It was not originality, as a matter of fact, to which Charpentier really aspired, but he succeeded in creating something new that is based on something eternal.

¹ By the courtesy of the Metropolitan Opera Guild I have in this article, to some extent, drawn on a shorter sketch which I contributed to "Opera News" of January 16, 1939. K. O'D. H.

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Merci pour Mimi Binson
(Justaveu Carpentier)

The composer as he looked
when he wrote *Louise*

Gustave Charpentier was born in the village of Dieuze, in Lorraine, on June 25, 1860, of humble parentage. His father was a baker of the Ragueneau type, who deserted his ovens and flour bins for aesthetic pursuits, consisting of back-parlor practice on the flute and French horn, whenever the routine of trade permitted. Through this parental music-making, young Gustave absorbed a modest command of *solfège* at the same time that he learned to talk. In 1871, the population of Dieuze fled from the Prussian invasion to Tourcoing, close to the Belgian frontier. In addition to its historic looms, this small textile center boasted an exceptional music master, by the name of Stappen, who crammed sufficient violin technique into the eleven year-old Charpentier boy within the space of five months to enable him to occupy a minor desk in the local band. Through the ambitious répertoire of these humble instrumentalists, Charpentier's introduction to the classics began on a sumptuous scale, with "selections" from *Fidelio*, *Orfeo*, *Rienzi*, *L'Etoile du nord*, and the like, supplying the staple of his daily practice.

There was always a sprinkling of rich Tourquennois industrialists among the audiences of these *concerts municipaux*. Gamin though he was, Charpentier did not fail to notice their envy of his and his fellow-bandmembers' musical gifts, which he duly recorded years later in *Louise*. (Act II, Scene III, *Scènes des Bohèmes*: "*Le désir des grands seigneurs . . . d'être artistes!*")

His passion for regimenting the laboring classes into aesthetic pursuits asserted itself at this early age, and the spinning-mill in which he found employment resounded during rest hours with shaky "*Sérénades d'orchestre*", given under his direction by minor desks of the town band and talented laborers. Not even the *patron* escaped his artistic proselytism, and turned musical with such fervor that he not only took up the violin but financed Charpentier through a course of training in that instrument at the conservatory of nearby Lille. His protégé more than repaid him, artistically, by winning a *prix d'honneur*. It was the small savings of the townspeople, however, and not the bounty of other potential patrons, that made up a modest annual pension to enable him to study in Paris—a fact that left a lasting impression on the young beneficiary.

Like Ravel, Charpentier was conspicuous, during his first years at the Conservatoire, for mediocrity of talent and effort. He rarely did the work that was allotted to him, or, when he prepared it,

injected some ingenious *blague*. Once, when he submitted an exercise to Massart with the bass for a given melody built on the theme of *J'ai du bon tabac*, that outraged master ejected him from the Conservatoire. Several months later, after touring the provinces as violinist, during which time his aim to exalt labor through music was first conceived, he was re-accepted in that institution. A second *accessit*, awarded for exercises in harmony, fired a spark of belated diligence, wisely deflected by his new master, Massenet, from musical bravado into cantata-writing. Experimentation in this chaste *genre* blossomed into a *prix-de-Rome* winning score entitled *Didon*, on a text by Augé de Lassus. Three years of freedom from material cares and of study among ideal surroundings — a golden prospect, coveted by every student in the Conservatoire, but tarnished for Charpentier by a single circumstance: he had fallen in love — erratically as only Charpentier could—with Paris!

From the hour of his arrival from humdrum Tourcoing, he had been enthralled by the siren city. Every aspect of her life became idealized to him, her verve and variety, her brilliance and gaiety, her sordidness and cruelty, and, above all, her mystery. With the peculiar assimilateness of the provincial, he had turned *Montmartrois* to the very soul. Three times he made ready to depart for Rome, three times postponing the journey in an agony of nostalgia. When he finally left, in the autumn of 1887, it was to become as great a favorite with the Villa Medici *pensionnaires* as he had been with the denizens of the Butte. Distance could not wither nor isolation stale exuberance such as his, to the protracted discomfiture of Director Hébert. Among his pranks were his promenades about Rome disguised as a cardinal. One year, he placarded the walks and corridors of the Villa with posters recommending himself as "*candidat anti-boulangiste*" for petty municipal posts in Tourcoing, which he might have filled had Euterpe not interfered. At one period, he communicated by letter or personal call with the foremost wine merchants throughout the region, soliciting, in the name of art, donations of their best vintages, obtaining enough to regale his fellow-students for an entire season, until the horrified Hébert interposed.

Far from hampering Charpentier's creativeness, these picaresque pursuits served to stimulate it. The bulk of his entire output, including the nucleus of the *Impressions d'Italie* and the first act of

Louise, was written during this aesthetic exile. Except for elaborations of the compositions of this period, little that he wrote subsequently is comparable in spontaneity or originality of theme and treatment. His obligatory *envoi* to the Conservatoire, a symphonic drama with choruses entitled *La Vie du Poète*, fomented a memorable controversy among the benign members of the *comité*. At the official hearing, Ambroise Thomas stalked out of his loge, slamming the door indignantly, while Massenet applauded in sheer delight. Gounod, on examining the score, exclaimed: "At last, a true musician! He composes in C natural, and no one else but the Almighty could do that!" Congratulating Charpentier, he wrote:² *Malgré les quelques critiques auxquelles votre travail nous a semblé donner lieu, il y a là des qualités si saillantes de pensée . . . de conception . . . d'intelligence. . .* Preoccupation with the cultivation of musical elegance did not hamper Gounod's discrimination in appraising rougher material.

Before his departure for Rome, Charpentier had been promised a libretto by the Parisian publishing firm of Hartmann. Soon after settling there, if Charpentier may be said to have settled anywhere, he wrote to them, reminding them of the agreement. He received no answer and wrote again. When his second plea was ignored, he embarked on his own search for a subject. Unfortunately, meager education had not sharpened his literary judgment, and the examination of a spate of plays and novels revealed little of promise. He finally hit upon the idea of dramatizing an episode in his own career. In 1882, soon after establishing himself on the Butte, he waxed sentimental—out of respect, perhaps, for Massenet's advice—over a seamstress employed in Mme. Arnoux's modest *atelier*, in the rue Lepic. Intended as an exaltation of free love, the affair speedily ended with the mutual disillusion typical of such ventures. They went their own respective ways, Charpentier on the road to fame and fortune, the little seamstress to oblivion. It is known that after their rupture she deserted the Butte for Montparnasse, thereafter disappearing altogether. (Her actual name is said to have been Louise Jehan.) The usual legends sprang up about her fate; according to one, she died, while another identified her with the crusty *conciERGE* of a certain Left Bank dwelling. Had she followed her parents' projects by marrying a petty government clerk, she might

² *Le Cri de Paris*, Feb. 10, 1890.

have become a respected grandmother by now, but would not have been immortalized in opera. Charpentier remained faithful to her type, at least, and has never ceased to exalt the midinette and to dedicate himself to the betterment of her lot.

During this period he frequented the Théâtre Antoine and Lugné Poë's new playhouse as often as his straitened circumstances permitted, witnessing the plays of Ibsen, Richepin and other revolutionary authors, again and again. Each time he returned to his lodging in Montmatre—a windowless room with a glass door—with his head churning with subversive doctrines. At the Café du Delta, the rendezvous of socialists, he was frequently seen at the same table with Sebastien Faure and Matha, the notorious anarchists. Their words had never ceased ringing in his thoughts, and, as he worked in the quietude of the Villa Medici, came crowding into his libretto: "*Tout être a le droit d'être libre*" (Act III, Scene I); "*Est-ce que les bons lits, les belles robes, comme le soleil, ne devraient pas être à tout le monde?*" (Act II, Scene II); "*Ceux qui ont des rentes aujourd'hui n'en auront peut-être plus demain*" (Act I, Scene IV). "I wanted my opera to express the thought of my generation", he explained to his friend Marc Delmas. "I had listened to the confidences of the Paris streets, and wished to translate them into sound." As his orchestration progressed, a strain from the Socialist hymn, the *Ravachole*:



repeatedly insinuated itself into the score: "*Gloire aux anarchistes*" (Act III, Scene II), *Propos du philosophe* (Act II, Scene III), "*Ce n'est plus la petite fille*" (Act IV), *Anathème du père* (Act IV).

With his return to the congenial Bohemianism of Montmartre, his score all but finished itself. Its production, unfortunately, was less automatic. For ten years no director would give it serious consideration, and Charpentier's excessive timidity, which kept him in hiding for days at a time when the possibility of appointments with theatrical managers was mentioned by friends, did not expedite matters. It was variously condemned as "sheer dissonance", as being handicapped by an impossible libretto, or for other reasons. To Carvalho,

of the Opéra Comique, the setting was drab beyond consideration—the substitution of the Louis XV period was strongly recommended!—while a tenorless last act was an unprecedented violation of operatic sanctities. Determined not to upset the visual habits, nor, indeed, the digestive functions, of his stolid bourgeois *abonnés* with an unhappy ending, Monsieur Carvalho diplomatically proposed having Julien bound through the window and clutch Louise in a stage embrace, as the final curtain fell to the father's intoned benediction. Charpentier's resoluteness was admirable; though poverty-stricken, he insisted that *Louise* should be given as he had written it. When it was finally accepted, in 1900, by Carré, the newly appointed director of the Comique, who wished to inaugurate his occupancy of the post with a striking novelty, the composer was past middle age. At the same time, Heugel et Cie., after a half-hearted attempt to buy the publishing rights, permitted Charpentier to go into "partnership" with them, greatly to their eventual chagrin, for he thereby retained half of all that his opera earned. When, years later, the publishers offered to buy his share for what they considered a tempting sum, he wisely declined their "generosity". During this same period Charpentier, while nearly starving, wrote a score of songs and several choruses, on poems by Maugclair, Baudelaire, Verlaine, and other texts, and the intensely Mediterranean *Impressions*, developed from an early sketch entitled *Napoli*. Without the credit of the music-loving proprietor of a *crêmerie* in the rue St. Luc, he would undoubtedly not have survived. His fame, however, did not languish; the *Impressions* and *Vie du Poète* were performed at Colonne concerts to turbulent audiences. Occupants of expensive seats hissed at the "deliberate discords", while corduroy-clad Bohemians shrilled enthusiasm from the gallery. By the time *Louise* was finally announced, public curiosity reached a pitch only equalled in the history of the French theater by Rostand's *Chantecler*, ten years later. Information that leaked out from backstage, confidences made by indiscreet friends, many an insidious *on dit*, all duly distorted by the press, turned Charpentier into a super-revolutionist of art, his conventional score into tonal anarchism. The *première* of *Louise* could not have been more sensationally heralded.

Contrary to popular belief, Mary Garden did not create the rôle of Louise. Carré had cast a promising *débutante*, Marthe Riota, for the part, but failing health and preoccupation with an assiduous ad-

mirer caused this gifted young mezzo to cut short her career three months after the *première*, on February 2, 1900. Charpentier had trained a Scotch-American singer, who had been placed on the reserve roster of the Comique through Sybil Sanderson's influence, as *remplaçante*. We quote her own description of the incident:³

I was moulding away, waiting for a chance to sing Micaela or some other secondary rôle, when Manager Carré suddenly asked, one day, "Could you sing Louise, Mlle. Garden?" With the audacity and ignorance of youth, I answered, "Certainly. Tomorrow, if you like." "Then come to the performance. We may need you." Riotion was far from well. She got through the first act, but towards the end it was evident that she was straining to keep up. At the intermission, an attendant whispered into my ear, "Riotion can't go on. Get into your costume." I needed no urging, and was dressed within ten minutes. With no rehearsals, I was oblivious of everything except my great chance—until the rumble of the rising curtain and the sight of the dim auditorium brought me to my senses. "What have you done, *ma petite Mary!*" I gasped to myself, suddenly congealed with stage-fright. But it was too late. I had to sing—and I sang.

The success of *Louise* was instantaneous and complete. During the first season it was presented one hundred times, and, by 1935, had had a thousand performances—a record that has been matched in the annals of the Parisian stage only by *Faust*, *Mignon*, and *La Dame blanche*. Unfortunately, Charpentier's inspiration was less hardy. His waning creativeness has been variously attributed, in France, to privations suffered during the years preceding the production of *Louise*, to a too profound absorption in the characters of the drama, whose trials closely resembled his own, and to other causes. Limited inventiveness, however, was the principal factor. *Louise* expressed his genius in its entirety; having exalted his humble romance and sung the glories of his beloved Butte, his afflatus ceased. He continued to write, but has produced little more of importance. His aim to serve Mimi Pinson has never faltered, but it has found an outlet in other channels.

* * *

Charpentier, not unlike Reyer and Bruneau, owed much to Wagner, though his music shows traces of Gounod and the less academic Delmet, composer of the typical Parisian ballad. In addition to using the *Leitmotif*, Charpentier employs the device with the contrasting combinations—successive and contrapuntal—, the amplifications, and other variations of the Wagnerian manner, with entire success,

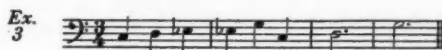
³ *La Liberté*, May 24, 1905

thanks to a unique gift for orchestration. His instrumentation is invariably effective, and supplies a vivid, sensitive commentary on his action. It can be rich and sensuous; or, if the action demands, it can be "proletarian". His use of Mustel's Celesta (in whole-tone passages, at that) was an orchestral innovation. His themes, not always salient in themselves, are often woven into colorful patterns, helped by felicitous contrapuntal treatment. In passionate moments his melodies can soar, and the "harmonic interest", oddly enough, increases steadily with each act.

The familiar opening *arpeggio* of *Louise*, symbolizing "*l'élan amoureux*":



ascends and descends, is major and minor by turns, until abruptly confronted by the motive of the Hearth:



and within the preludial exposition of these two themes the entire drama is subtly summarized.

The score of this act proceeds with a simplicity and discretion that allow each word of Charpentier's perfervid and somewhat labored text to stand out, stressing the action intermittently with a characteristic motive. Not until the six closing measures does the music dominate again in the unfolding of the drama. The poignant "*Paris!*" of Louise, sounding over a house-clock's chime and the murmur, by a flute followed by oboe and contra-basses, of the theme of the Hearth, ushers in the principal personage of the cast, for whom no labored lines but much inspired music were written—Paris.

The entire score is interwoven with short themes that are harmonically banal but singularly adapted to their purpose. The two measures on which the *Eveil de Paris* (Act II, Scene I) is built:



constitute a simple pedal-point on the tonic, but express by their very monotony the soft rumble of Montmartre streets. The muted fanfare of the Animation theme into which the *Eveil de Paris* melts:



conveys the chatter and bustle of midinettes hurrying to work, with entire realism. The *Berceuse* of the Father (Act IV), with its accompanying theme for the *viole d'amour*:



is so plain that it ceases to be melody and becomes mere rhythm, ingeniously expressive of gruff tenderness.

A deft parody of Wagner, achieved by echoing a theme from the *Ring* (Treaty motive, *Das Rheingold*) after the Philosopher's pronouncement: "*Le rêve des artistes? . . . être des dieux*" (Act II, Scene II), recalls the *blagues* of Charpentier's Conservatoire days. Other Wagnerian quotations are discernible in the strain in the Prelude to Act III, incongruously employed to signify Julien's ardor, which is identical with the second part of the Grail motive—a theme that re-appears in the score of *Julien*—and in orchestral reverberations of the *Liebestod* after Louise's torrid "*Julien à moi!*" (Act IV).

Several examples of his youthful wish to startle reflect credit on that aim, notably the false relation (F \sharp - F \natural), sounded by the bassoon, in the introduction of the Birdseed Vendor's call (Prelude, Act II):



With the unresolved harmony on a chord of the ninth:



with which voices and orchestra die away at the end of Act II, Charpentier anticipated Debussy by nearly a decade.

Charpentier's development of street cries into an art form was no innovation. In the 16th century Clément Jannequin had woven them into the polyphony of his *Les Cris de Paris*, and thereafter a number of composers employed them as thematic material. A ballet entitled *Les Cris populaires de Paris* is known to have been a favorite of the *balletomane* Louis XIV, and a humorous symphony built entirely upon them, nearly two hundred pages in length, was composed by Georges Kastner and published in 1857. Delius treated them impressionistically,⁴ in 1899, without knowledge of their inclusion in the score of *Louise*. But Charpentier was the first to set forth the drama underlying these plaintive chants that have touted everything from birdseed to rush chairs through Paris byways for centuries. Others employed them humorously or pictorially; he was the first to treat them symbolically. It is not the subtle symbolism of Mallarmé or Maeterlinck, expressing "in a deliberate shadow the unmentioned object of allusive words", rarefied by the complex harmony of Debussy; it is simple and direct, because its subjects are unpretentious and taken from modern life. Their actuality lends itself less readily to allegory than legendary characters would have done, and calls, in a sense, for a more exacting order of craftsmanship. In his monograph on *Louise*,⁵ André Himonet offers a credible if slightly sentimental interpretation of the dramatic function of each cry. In the goatherd's flute he discerns a voice that lures the lovers to the fulfilment of their dreams, in the artichoke pedlar's "*A la tendress, la verduress*", he hears a song in praise of the poetry and romance of Paris, in the birdseed vendor's "*Mouron pour les petits oiseaux*", a pledge of protection to enamored youth. Symbolic considerations aside, this evocation of the sonorous dawn of Montmartre is unique in operatic writing. With simple but expert

⁴ "Paris: the Song of a Great City", Nocturne for Orchestra.

⁵ *Louise de Charpentier*, published by Paul Mellottée, Paris, 1922.

orchestration, a vast city is transformed into a personage that dominates the music and action through faint, antiphonal refrains. To Julien's anguished "*Qui viendra à mon aide?*" Paris promises rescue, through a child's hawking of birdseed; to his ecstatic "*Voix de la rue . . . êtes vous le chant de victoire de notre amour triomphant?*" she hymns, through a carrot vendor's call sounded in the trombones, a paean to love; when the grandiloquent young poet wins the midnette's promise to be his, their ardent phrases melt into the haunting chant of the ragman and the vendors of green peas, potatoes, and broth. In each act, Paris has the last word.

Except for one passage, the Sewing-room scene is rather negligible as music. In order to prove his thesis—that Paris, rather than the parents or the lover, fatally influenced the destiny of his heroine, Charpentier introduced irrelevant episodes into his drama, like the awakening of Montmartre, the metamorphosis of the Night Walker into the allegorical *Plaisir de Paris*, the panorama of the city, and the coronation of the muse, making their psychological bearing on the action evident in the final act. The *atelier* scene is dramatically vivid, but its scoring, as a whole, has the flavor of operetta. The simulation of sewing-machine rhythm by means of rapid triads, interrupted by quick melodic snatches like the chatter of seamstresses, is an orchestral *tour de force*, however, and Julien's *aubade* deserves mention for its deliberate, guitar-like vulgarity. Opinions may differ as to the musical value of Louise's aria, with which Act III opens; but the fact remains that it has been sung the whole world over,⁶ and to have heard Mary Garden utter that single adverb, "*délicieusement*", on its inspired monotone, is to remember one of opera's great moments. The orchestration with which street cries are made to recur throughout this act amounts to sheer virtuosity. They are woven into the prelude, they sound above Louise's sultry protestations of happiness, they relieve Julien's pompous tirade against parental egotism for opposing the seduction of an only daughter, they echo the lovers' apostrophe to the "*cité de lumière et de force*", to merge into the "*Libres*" of far-away voices with which Paris promises them freedom. The intrusion of the Mother is handled, music-

⁶ For many years it remained so popular with Parisian *jeunes filles* that singing masters felt obliged to have the text discreetly altered to "*Depuis le jour où je fus fiancée.*"

ally, with uncanny shrewdness and theatrical effectiveness. Her presence in the midst of the charivari, to the accompaniment of the theme of the Father transposed to minor, while crass melodrama, is masterfully treated. Less adroit, perhaps, is the ending of *Louise*. Silence and the myriad lights of the city would have been a convincing enough answer to the Father's despairing call; his anathema is an unfortunate anticlimax. "Ah, Paris!" springs less from a paternal broken heart than from Charpentier's preoccupation with the symbolism of his subject, so happily handled in other parts of his score. The startling use of waltz rhythms throughout this scene, even at its tragic conclusion, is Charpentier's way—bordering on genius—of indicating the sway that the pleasure-mad city holds over the hysterical girl.



It is futile to seek further evidence of Charpentier's gift among the published portion of his few subsequent works. His attempt to develop *La Vie du Poète* into an opera resulted in flamboyantly pretentious drama and insignificant musical accompaniment. It was written during a short-lived interest in mysticism, under the influence of which he attempted symbolism on so grandiose a scale that his work completely missed conviction. Philip Hale, in describing it as "sounding brass and tinkling symbols", only connoted its quality in part, because he included no mention of its unmitigated tedium. In *Julien*, the human quality that gives life to *Louise* is wholly lacking. The consistency of its abstraction is its sole merit.

Charpentier's own explanation of an unpublished symphonic poem called *Munich* throws light on an opinion occasionally heard in musical circles—that the popular *Impressions d'Italie* should yield its place on concert programs to this score. "I tried to capture the contagious joy of popular songs in which overtones of *Die Walküre* and other great German music are recognizable", he admitted. "The score contains a 'Meditation' before a poster announcing the *Salome* of Richard Strauss, and a nocturnal chorus of the innumerable equestrian statues that ornament the palaces and squares of the Bavarian capital."⁷ Composed during a sojourn of several months in Munich, in 1911, it was intended to be the first of a series of retrospective scores which were to include Prague, Vienna, and Monte Carlo. It is

⁷ *Courrier Musical*, November 1912.

written in the manner of his *Napoli*, but reveals a deeper understanding of his subject.

Charpentier possesses the traditional French aversion to chamber music to an exceptional degree. He acknowledges no form of art that cannot reach the masses, and frowns on sonatas, trios, quartets, and the like, as sterile melody with little justification for being written. With the exception of the *Impressions d'Italie* and his unpublished second Suite and symphonic poem *Munich*, he has restricted himself to creating music for voices, as the medium best adapted to the populace. His three groups of songs, *Poèmes Chantés*, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, and *Impressions Fausses*, have no analogy to *Lieder*. They are developed as dramatic scenes, rather than as mood-pictures. Much, perhaps, could be learned about Charpentier's true position among French composers, as well as about his arrested musical growth after *Louise*, if one compared, for instance, his setting of Verlaine's "Chevaux de bois" with that of Debussy, or his setting of Baudelaire's "Invitation au voyage" with that of Duparc. Charpentier's songs have never received the attention they deserve.

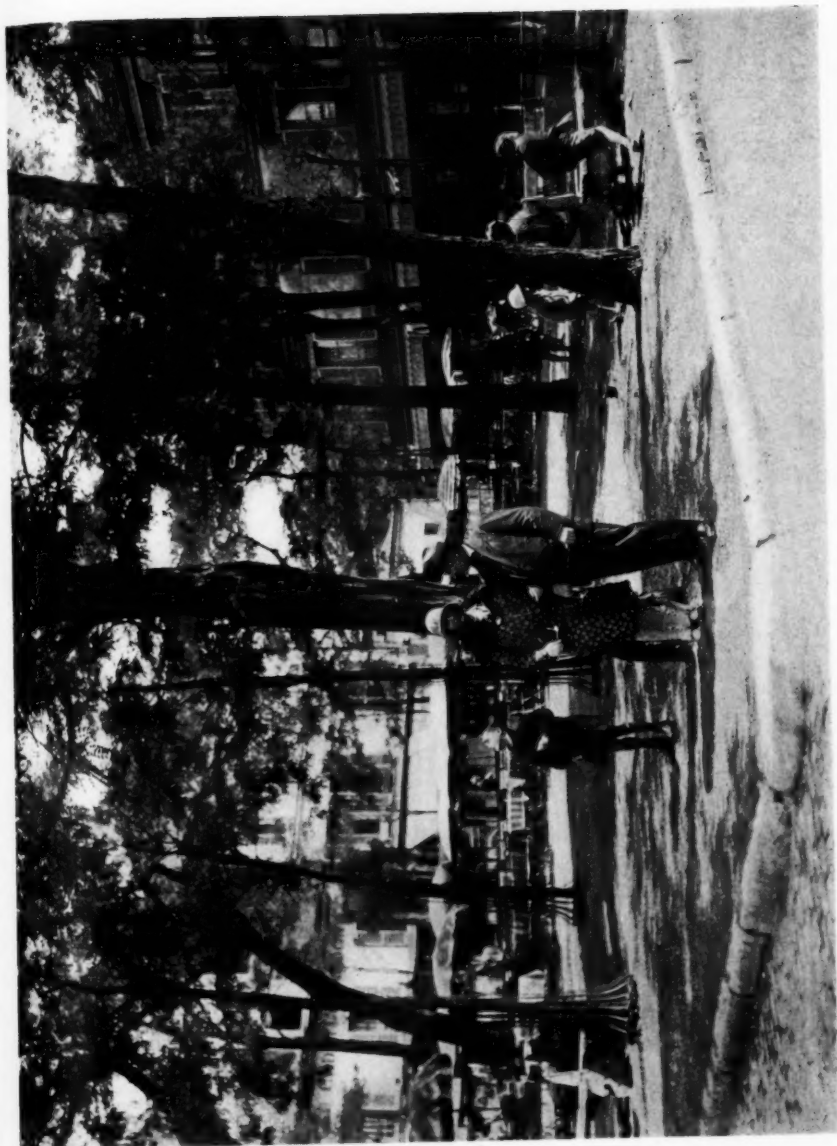


Few composers have possessed altruism as indefatigable as that of Charpentier. Years ago, out of gratitude for the success of *Louise*, he arranged a special performance of it for the working girls of Paris. At a banquet given soon afterwards in his honor by French notables, a delegation of midinettes presented him with a medallion and a document expressing their thanks. This touching gesture led him to request the managers of the important Paris theaters to make a weekly distribution of seats among working girls during each season. Meeting with indifferent response, he appealed to the dramatic critics to make a donation of their complimentary seats on certain days, and solicited funds from private sources in order to obtain additional places. Ultimately, these efforts to secure regular theater privileges for his protégées succeeded, and for years notices have appeared in the theatrical column of the French press inviting working girls who hold specified numbers to claim their seats at box offices. A popular academy, known as the Conservatoire Mimi Pinson, founded by Charpentier in 1902 and dedicated to their musical education, has further brightened the lot of the countless Mimis and Musettas and

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Gustave Charpentier and Grace Moore in the Place du Tertre on the Butte Montmartre



Le Couronnement de la Muse at Roubaix, 1924
(The Mimi Pinson Orchestra and Chorus)



Le Couronnement de la Muse at Fresnay-sur-Sarthe

Louises in which Paris, with her prestige in fashion and fine needlework, abounds. Through weekly classes they have learned to appreciate the best of the French *chansons*, and have been trained for singing in opera choruses, in fencing, dancing, and gymnastics. In summer, they are sent on vacations to rural regions of France which they would otherwise never see. Charpentier has devoted his time and efforts and fortune to these deeds until he has become the patron saint of *midinettes*. His esteem for them and for the aesthetic aspect of their chores had memorable expression at the celebration of his election to the French Institute, in 1913. In a ceremony arranged by Mme. Poincaré, his sword was presented to him by a representative of the Parisian seamstresses; in accepting it, he replied:

To the glory which the sword, the pen, and the palette have achieved for France, your needle has contributed its part. A Parisian dress, worn by a true *Parisienne*, is surely a work of art, rarer for being ephemeral. After your deft fingers have toiled through the day, making costumes fit magically to a mannequin's contours, thereby linking you to our great sculptors, you leave your modest *ateliers* and go on your way, illuminating the thoughts of the passer-by with your gentle friendliness and grace. Take pride, little Parisians! Who knows how many masterpieces may be created, thanks to you, by struggling artists to whom this sword will one day be presented for having celebrated your springtime and defended your right to happiness.

Charpentier's artistic philanthropy extends beyond the sphere of the *midinette*. In order to inculcate a sense of the dignity and nobility of daily labor in the masses, he has organized a vast public festival which is celebrated every spring in Paris and the principal French industrial towns. The main feature is the coronation of a working girl, whom the people elect to be their muse. The idea originated from a mock ceremony of Montmartre, called "*La Vache Enragée*", which, in *Louise*, Charpentier elaborated into a choreographic scene with musical accompaniment (*Le Couronnement de la Muse*, Act III). This scene, intended to depict an established custom, offered only one difficulty: the custom did not exist. Therefore, when his friends pointed this out to Charpentier, before the opera had its first performance, he forthwith proceeded to inaugurate the custom, by having a coronation of the muse solemnized on the square before the City Hall of Paris. Since then it has been celebrated in many towns of France, large and small, usually under the composer's personal direction. During many of these prolonged outdoor fêtes, it is known

to have rained, and witnesses describe them as a sea of dripping umbrellas and shining faces.

* *
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For many years Charpentier has ceased to be the Bohemian of popular conception—the *Montmartrois* of long hair, velvet jacket, and baggy trousers—though the traditional *lavallière* tie of black silk has been retained. The button of a Commander of the Legion of Honor now adorns his lapel, but his appearance is otherwise inconspicuous. He lives quietly in the same small apartment on the Boulevard Rochechouart, in the shadow of his beloved Sacré Coeur, that he has occupied for the last forty years. Even though he has temporarily occupied more luxurious quarters, he has steadfastly refused to give up his old abode, because, as he has explained: "*Voilà toute ma jeunesse!*" He keeps an eye on the classes of *midinettes* who meet regularly at his apartment, and devotes hours to the preparation of his annual fêtes, or of special ones, held to commemorate centenaries or to inaugurate the monuments with which France so gracefully honors her great. The music written for these ceremonies invariably includes choruses for his well-trained seamstresses. One of his most prized possessions is a collection of moving pictures of his fêtes, taken by himself on his own Ciné-Gaumont, which he plans to distribute throughout the world some day. From time to time, the appearance of a new score is rumored in musical circles; *Marie*, a "*roman musical*" about Louise's daughter, and two classical scores, *Orphée* and *Héliogabale*, have been unofficially announced as nearing completion. Charpentier parries queries on the subject with the admission that he has drafted a number of works, but consigned them to desk drawers before they were finished. Their persisting incompleteness is justifiable. With a single work, written forty-nine years ago, but perennially fresh and convincing, he brought about the democratization of the lyric stage, and proved that art could be practised for humanity's sake. Like the classic heroine^s of his early cantata, he has lived and accomplished his predestined task—the Muses must have elected him their bard of humble things—and he merits the privilege of seclusion and self-imposed silence.

^s Cf. *Aeneid*, Book IV, line 653.

THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF GUSTAVE CHARPENTIER
(Chronologically ordered by year of publication)

Songs with piano accompaniment.

1894 *Poèmes chantés:*

1. *La Petite frileuse* (J. L. Guez), 1885.
2. *Prière* (E. Blémont), 1888.
3. *A une fille de Capri* (L. Puech), 1889.
4. *Chanson d'Automne* (Verlaine), 1890.
5. *La Cloche fêlée* (Baudelaire), 1890.
6. *Complainte* (Mauclair), 1893.
7. *Les Trois sorcières* (Mauclair), 1893.
8. *La Musique* (Baudelaire), 1894.

Published by Heugel.

1895 *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Baudelaire):

1. *Les Yeux de Berthe*, 1895.
2. *Le Jet d'eau* (also orchestrated) 1895.
3. *La Mort des amants*, 1895.
4. *L'Invitation au voyage*, 1895.

Published by Heugel.

Compositions for Voice and Orchestra.

1894 *Poèmes chantés:*

1. *A mules* (J. Méry), transcribed from Scene No. 3, "Impressions d'Italie", for barytone and female chorus, 1893.
2. *Parfum exotique* (Baudelaire), for tenor or soprano and small women's chorus, 1893.
3. *La Chanson du chemin* (Mauclair), duo for soprano and tenor and small women's chorus, 1893.
4. *Les Chevaux de bois* (Verlaine), 1893.
5. *Allégorie* (G. Vanor), for soprano or tenor and small women's chorus, 1894.

1895 *Impressions Fausses* (Verlaine):

1. *La Veillée rouge*, for barytone and men's chorus, 1894.
2. *La Ronde des Compagnons*, for barytone and men's chorus, 1894.

1896 *Sérénade à Watteau* (Verlaine), 1896

Published by Heugel.

Symphonic works.

1892 *Impressions d'Italie*, orchestral suite: 1890

1. *Sérénade.*
2. *A la fontaine.*
3. *Mules.*
4. *Sur les cimes.*
5. *Napoli.*

Published by Heugel.

Dramatic Music.

- 1887 *Didon* (Augé de Lassus), cantata, 1887. Published by Heugel.
 1892 *La Vie du Poète* (Charpentier), symphonic drama with chorus, 1889-1891.
 Published by Choudens.
 1900 *Louise* (Charpentier), "roman musical", 1889-1890. Published by Heugel.
 1913 *Julien* (Charpentier), lyrical drama 1913. Published by Max Eschig.

UNPUBLISHED WORKS

- Chant d'Apothéose* (Saint-Georges de Bouhélier), chorale with dances, 1902.
 (Performed to celebrate the centenary of Victor Hugo.)
Orchestral Suite No. 2. (Manuscript destroyed by fire.)
Munich, a symphony, 1911.
Triptyque (Charpentier), popular epic in three parts, 1913.
 1. *L'Amour au Faubourg.*
 2. *Commediante.*
 3. *Tragediante.*

9-1891.
Teugel.
1902.

TRADITIONAL AIRS FROM A LITTLE KNOWN PYRENEAN VALLEY

By VIOLET ALFORD

WHEN my friends learn that I am going to the Pyrenees their comments are various and amusing.

"I went up to St. Jean-Pied-de-Port", says a man who likes Biarritz and golf. "A deadly hole."

"I tried Superbagnères once, but never again", declares a ski enthusiast grimly. "Even in March the rocks show through the snow."

"I was ordered to Luchon one season", says a Parisian lady, "but I find Vichy gayer. There are so many more people." (The annual visitors list to Luchon numbers some 60,000 people.)

What then would these spoilt children of fortune and fashion say to the valley of the Lez, up which our eyes are turned? The very name of so little known a region as Ariège causes cries of dismay and uplifted eyebrows. "A dirty Ariègeois" is a common saying, and when a character from this department is portrayed on the stage he invariably appears in rags. "Bear trainers", they are pleased to say; also, "with manners like the bear's."

Yet up among those valleys of the Salat and of the Lez, in Bellongue, and in the Ariège valley itself are thermal waters as efficacious as those of Luchon, "la Reine des Pyrénées", and inns renowned for their cookery—I once met a man from Boston who, beguiled by its fleshpots from a walking tour, had stayed many days at little Aulus-les-Bains. And the deep snows on Larrech would delight the ski enthusiast, and even in March might satisfy the winter of his discontent. As for the dirt and the bears, I saw neither one nor the other, although I did collect a surviving bear trainer's song. The trainer is supposed to say: "Come, Marie Louise, show how your father and mother eat the lambs on the mountain." He then sings the following air while the bear dances and pretends to seize the spectators.

Ex. 1

Well marked

La da de-ri ri, doune dé, doune, dé la di ra,
 La da de-ri ri, doune dé, doune dé la di ra, Ah— la di ri doune
 doune— la do né to, Ah— la di ri doune, doune, la ra ra.

Noted by V.A. from an Ariègeois

But the calling of the trainer has died away, like so many other picturesque though cruel old ways, and the brown Pyrenean bear lives in the solitudes unmolested—unless he takes it into his cunning head to come down to the valley gardens to help himself to cabbages and luscious cherries. But even those who look for other things than ski-slopes and Casinos are discouraged.

"There are no regional songs", they say.

"The costume has quite died out", they say.

"There are no dances and no dance tunes", they say, and end with the well known assurance that only in Auvergne can one see dancing worth looking at. Really one is tempted to imagine that those rugged uplands of the Massif Central scrape together enough money to subsidise every man, woman, and child in France to advertise their traditional Bourrée, for as a matter of fact nothing can be more inaccurate than this assurance. My readers themselves know better.¹ In defence of other regions we may cite Brittany with its large variety of lively, if rough, dances; Berry, with the famous description of its wedding traditions by the romantic George Sand; ancient Provence with its wealth of traditional steps and dances, the best known of which, the celebrated Farandole, can certainly trace its origins from classical days; to say nothing of the Pyrenean country with its music and dance represented, among others, by what I suppose are the most notable dancers in France, the Basques of Soule.²

¹ See the following *Musical Quarterly* articles [all by Miss Alford.—Ed.]: "Dance and Song in two Pyrenean Valleys" (April, 1931); "Odd Music-Makers and Their Instruments" (January, 1936); "Valencian Cross-roads" (July, 1937).

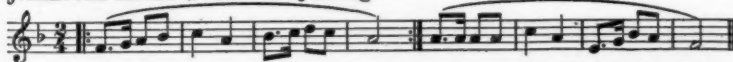
² See Rodney Gallop, "Basque Songs from Soule", in *The Musical Quarterly* for October, 1936.

Let us proceed in crawling train and rattling autobus up the valley of the Lez to see what diligence can find. We leave St. Girons dozing over the river Salat (sound the T, please; we are in the land of the *langue d'oc*) and almost immediately a sharp point comes into sight on our left. This is rock above Moulis, on which a great cone of cast-out furniture, old baskets, and wood is piled ready for the midsummer fire on the night of June 23rd. It is the business of the men married during the year to haul up the combustibles, for the St. John's eve fires are part of the ancient sun worship, and the sun brings fertility to the earth, and newly married men, potential fathers of families, naturally increase the magic of the ritual flames.

Now round an elbow of the valley rises a white and lovely peak, unknown to the guide-books, shielding behind it the slopes of the great Montvallier, which marks the frontier between France and Spain. The Lez gleams silver and green on its way through the hay fields. Peace reigns over this, to my mind, the most exquisite valley of the Pyrenees. Here tourists are almost unknown; the only figures in sight are those of a static fisherman or two come up from Toulouse, and that of the aforementioned man from Boston, who, weaned at last from the dishes of Aulus-les-Bains, intends to continue his walking tour *via* high sheep-paths along the ridges to Biarritz. So he says. So he says. But here he remains lying in the grass on the banks of the Lez. A man's voice rises lazily from among the haycocks.

Ex. 2

Jeanneton filabo (Jeanne is spinning)



Noted at Balleguères by V. A.

That same night under a moth-encircled lamp—electric, of course, with all this water about—a shirt-sleeved singer, one of the kindest of Pyrenean friends, delighted us with the two songs that follow. I do not think the first is a true folk-tune. The rather too consciously artistic way in which it returns to the first theme in measures 16 and 17 rules it out of the folk category, but the singer's quiet voice and delightfully simple manner of singing were, at the moment, deceptive. The second, "The Deserted Love", is a favorite love-song of the central Pyrenees, and typical too.

Ex. 3

L'Agnel (The Lamb)

L'a-gnel qué m'as dou-nat, S'en es a - nat, Pais-se dins la pra - do, L'a-
 gnel qué m'as dou-nat, S'en es a - nat, Pais-se dins le prat; —
 S'en a-nat sur l'her-bo pe - cai - re, En cre-sen y trou-ba sa mai-re, L'a-
 gnel qué m'as dou-nat, S'en es a - nat, Pais-se dins le prat.

Noted by S.B. and V.A. at Castillon

The lamb you gave me has gone away
 To pasture in the meadow;
 The lamb you gave me has gone away
 To pasture in the mead;

Gone to the pasture,
 To grow and find its mother;
 The lamb you gave me has gone away
 To pasture in the mead.

Ex. 4

La Migo Abandonado (The Deserted Love)

Mi - go oun as es - tatch? Y'a lounq tems anou t'ei bis - to;
 M'en soui a - nat en bis - to, — De tous camps et
 tous — prats, — Mi - go oun as es - tatch?

Noted by S.B. and V.A. at Castillon

1. Love, where have you gone?
 It is long since I have seen you;
 I have been searching for you
 In every field and meadow.
 Love, where have you gone?

*Se jou sabis boula
 Coumo hè la paloumba,
 Sus ta noblo persouno
 M'anirio repausa,
 Se jou sabis boula.*

2. If I knew how to fly
 As does the dove,
 On your noble shoulder
 Would I repose,
 If I knew how to fly.

The charming valleys west of the Col du Port should not by rights be included in the modern department of Ariège; linguistically and ethnically they belong to Gascony and to the Atlantic watershed. Historically also they have always had leanings westwards, and once made part of the Roman province of Novempopulania, which stretched from here to the ocean, and afterwards they belonged to the Comté de Comminges. It is true that now and again they were snapped up by some clutching count of Foix. The Comté de Foix centered round the town of that name, with its castle perched on a sharp rock sticking up above the huddled houses it defended. That is the real Ariège—the river valley of that name. The Romans, who made use of the healing waters of Ax-les-Thermes and left their handiwork until this very day, attached this district to their south-eastern province of Septimania on the Mediterranean watershed.

The redundantly named Col du Port (for what is a Pyrenean port but a French *col*?) leads quite obviously into another region. Hot and savory bushes of lavender and rosemary cease as you climb the winding road. The dry gray-green of the Mediterranean vegetation gives place to verdant uplands. Round the enormous and sinister mushroom of the Roc de Carlon, under whose shelter a "Moorish" Prince lay waiting for the fairies to cure him of his leprosy, the fir-trees of the Inland Sea of the ancient geographers make a last stand. You reach the Col, and the Port (or door) opens to display a spreading view of western forests, green beeches, darker oaks, rich hay fields in the valley bottom where lies the village of Massat. And, as you descend, your ear, accustomed to the Provençal and Catalan form of the *langue d'oc*, catches a Gascon turn to it, and your eye descries the Gascon human type, kinder, I think, than the Eastern Pyrenean—whose family roots lie round the Mediterranean—though just as exuberant. Yet a faint Mediterranean influence still follows us in the scarlet barretina which fits so snugly on the heads of the men, until you reach the béret of the Luchon valley. The shepherds wear the heavy Pyrenean cloak of dark brown or undyed whitish *bure*, stitched round with black designs in wool. The women are rapidly giving up their traditional costumes, seduced by the fashions that now come so quickly and easily from Toulouse. The valley of Massat has lately given up the bridal crown composed by the village milliner of beads and artificial flowers, and little girls

no longer pull their hair through a hole at the back of their tight caps.

In Balaguères, which slopes at right angles steeply from the Lez, home-woven material is still to be seen, a satisfying dark blue and grey striped woolen, which is used for men's trousers and women's skirts alike. A tradition-loving group of people round about Castillon keeps alive the beautiful dress of their district together with their own dances and dance tunes, but in the remote valley of Bethmale a few more years will see the end of a wonderful local costume. Today it still decorates fairs, feasts, and Sunday Mass, but not a woman below the age of forty will appear in it. No persuasion has any effect upon the younger generation, and those of the older are so shy and suspicious that they will not even allow themselves to be photographed. When, very quietly, I once attempted a sketch hidden in the palm of my hand, a man nearby spied out my intention and warned my unaware model quite vehemently. "It is shameful!" he cried. "It is not to be borne!" And the woman vanished, as though fearing I might bewitch her. Dread of sorcery, in fact, is probably the foundation of their suspicions. The everyday dress, entirely black and white, is more striking than the festal costume with its medley of reds, greens, black velvets and multi-colored embroideries. The older men still appear in their hand-woven white woollen coats, with brilliant embroideries on cuffs, pockets, and lapels. On their heads is set the round cap, no bigger than that of a Swiss cow-man, adorned all over with tiny rosettes. The elegant and majestic scarlet capulet of the women of Bigorre and Béarn is not known here, only a somber black one bordered with crêpe, which is worn for mourning.

Funerary customs are among the longest lived rites all along the chain of the Pyrenees. They must be a direct inheritance from the Indo-European peoples who drifted westwards in the dim past, for they are found with local variants in all regions alike. No modern racial division of Catalan from Gascon, nor of Aragonese from Ariègeois, therefore, can account for them. We all have seen those long, glass tear-bottles from the East, which catch the tears of professional wailing women. Ritual weeping is carried on all along the Pyrenees also. *Pleureuses* on the French slope, *Ploraneras* on the Spanish slope, make the heavens ring with their forced-out cries and wails, until they work themselves into a veritable frenzy of artificial grief. This antique practice has been forbidden again and again by

the Church, for instance as long ago as 1221 by the Bishop of Oloron near Pau. But nothing is so hard to kill as tradition. A friend of mine, not long since, was startled to see a black figure reduced to silence, one supposes by exhaustion, lying full length on a grave in the valley of Ossau; while here, in our Ariège valleys, very interesting examples of the professional mourner are to be seen—not to say heard.

At Andressein—a lovely village with early frescoes in its church porch—at the junction of the road over the *col* to the neighboring Luchon valley, a funeral procession approaches in prescribed order. Here the men, in broad-brimmed hats and short cloaks (both of which are kept on in church throughout the year following a death) walk two and two. A long distance behind—for Pyrenean women are always relegated to the second place—come the women in their black capulets, and, as this female part of the procession enters the village, cries and lamentations immediately break out. In the above-mentioned Vallée d'Ossau these wailings gradually work up to improvisation in verse concerning the qualities and virtues of the dead. This is the *Aurost*. But our Ariège women do not aspire to poetical fancies; more homely lamentations appeal to them, and a grief-stricken widow has been heard to exclaim in her rich-sounding *langue d'oc*: "Why have you left me? Did I not do my duty as a housewife? Did I not have a cupboard full of linen?" (the hallmark of good housekeeping) and, as though to entice her husband's spirit to return, "We still have three hams and a dozen sausages hanging from the kitchen ceiling!"

In the still more remote Massat valley, an aged woman's thoughts returned to youthful days, as she thus addressed her dead: "When we were betrothed it was you who came to kill our pig at the *festo del porc*. You sang for me to dance." And, forgetting the weight of her years, and somewhat to the horror of the mourners, she performed a few Bourrée steps to the sound of her own shaky old voice. In a neighboring district the cult of the dead is even more clearly demonstrated. There a widow was seen pouring milk into the cracks of the earth on her husband's grave. "Here, poor Jounot," she said, "drink this, you who were so fond of milk!"

I have often wished to reduce to musical notation one of these improvised *Aurosts*, but none practicable have so far come my way.

The lamentations rise and fall with artificial spurts of energy, and one might as well seek to note the howls of a desert jackal. So we will turn to the Bourrée danced and sung by the aged widow. In this we can reduce the traditional, if naively expressed, grief of a mourner to musical order.

But we will transfer the Bourrée from a funeral to a feast, so that we may hear the whole piece, of which the widow sang only a fragment, and, leaving the sinister black capulets, turn our eyes to gay festal dresses in that same valley of Massat.

Ex. 5

A Bourrée from Massat
Heavily marked

Noted by S.B. and V.A. at Massat

This air, as we know from the old widow, is independent of musical instruments. The singer of Bourrées—and now I must write in the past tense—used to stand on a little rise above the dancing-ground, or on a table in a corner of the *place*, and, marking the beats heavily with a long stick gayly beribboned, he would continue for an hour at a time in a loud, firm voice, wordlessly singing air after air for the dancers of the Ariège Bourrée. As an extra incitement he would snap thumb and fingers as though they were human castanets. The tune above ends with three rough exclamations as given. But the human instrument has weakened during these last years, and today clarinets, country-made oboes, and accordions are called into play.

The best dance-tunes come from the valley of the Lez, and I shall give a small selection of them. Before the dances begin at a fête, the young men responsible for the organization make a collection to go towards expenses. Two will make the round of the company, penetrating with the greatest politeness and discretion into cafés and private houses. One carries a plate on which an orange is displayed, standing like a miniature geographical globe on three legs composed

of three ten-franc pieces. The second bears a tray piled high with tiny bouquets, often charming buttonholes of mountain heather or wild roses, or yellow ranunculus from the river banks; sometimes, *pour faire riche*, deplorable sprays of artificial flowers from the Mono-Prix shops of Toulouse. These are, of course, much admired. The orange-bearer presents the plate and in return for a coin his companion offers a bouquet. In older, richer days the legs of the orange were three golden louis. Sometimes the proceedings are varied, a tall decorated cake under a handkerchief taking the place of the fruit. When a coin is produced, the handkerchief is whipped off with a flourish and the dazzled giver is rewarded by a glimpse of the riches beneath. In either case the two *quêteurs* then perform a few Bourrée steps and the cake is eaten, not by those who pay, but by the committee of young men. Both these means of enticing money from your pocket are called a Ramelet (a sprig), on account of the bouquets, and village musicians must play special airs, also called Ramelets, during this important duty.

Now the real dancing begins. There are two-steps, man and girl tightly clasped in modern fashion. And there are older fashioned waltzes, mazurkas and schottisches, with the partners somewhat farther apart. Presently a wide ring forms, and the *Caulets*, one of the best known Bourrée airs, blares forth from a rustic oboe or an accordion, or even from the band hired from St.-Gaudens, for all local musicians must know the traditional tunes. The ring moves round counter-sunwise, and presently the men dance backwards, faces towards their partners, completing their steps with *grands battements*, turning them into *pas battus*, springing higher and with ever greater agility as the excitement of rapid movement increases. The women, of course, do nothing of the sort—their rôle is to follow meekly with modest steps close to the ground. And, if the dancers wear their local dress, the skirts and the trousers, fashioned alike of the hand-woven, darkly striped material, make a firm foundation for the patterned shawls and white caps of the women, alternating with the scarlet barretinas of the men, which glow like poppies above their partners' heads.

The following is an old-fashioned Valse, evidently of little musical value, yet taking to itself a peculiar charm when played on a home-made instrument or sung by a pleasantly modulated Pyrenean voice.

Ex. 6

An Old Valse

Gracefully



Noted by S.B. at Castillon

Les Caulets comes next, "The Cabbages", and this like many *Bourrée* airs has words fitted to it—hardly poetical and certainly not applicable to the fresh *jeunos filhos* dancing so gaily in the ring. "When the cabbages are dried up", announces the verse,

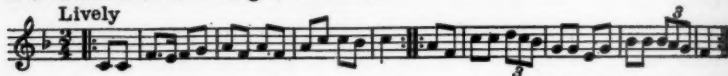
Toutis s'en dechou ana,
Atal fan las jeunos filhos
Quan passou de marida.

All will wither away,
So do young girls
When they pass the age for marriage.

Ex. 7

Les Caulets (The Cabbages)—*Bourrée*

Lively



Noted by V.A. at Castillon

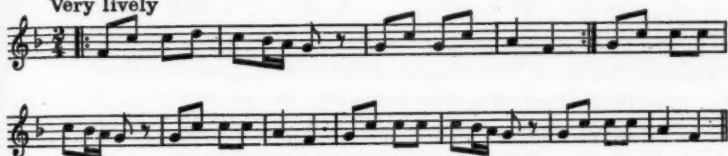
In this part of the valley a Country Dance, *La Traversée*, is danced in two long lines, the men facing the women, each line moving forwards to meet the other, then moving backwards again, and finally crossing to the opposite side (as the name of the dance might lead us to expect), barretinas replacing white caps. The air is of no interest, but that of *La Castagne*, "The Chestnut", monotonous as it is, must find a place because of the really lovely dance it accompanies. Again we see the wide ring, but, instead of setting it off on its revolutions, the units of which it is composed crouch down, the alternate scarlets and whites suddenly bringing their circle within a few feet of the ground. With southern dash and ardor into the middle of the ring springs a man, drawing with him his partner. Any steps this young *coq du village* chooses to set, his girl must follow—as well as she can, that is to say. He leaps in front of her, twirls and springs. Her answering twirls set her voluminous skirts flying until she appears to be a living top painted with gray and blue

stripes, spinning and spinning, while, to add to the excitement, the squatting members of the circle that hems her in clap, not merely each beat of the $\frac{2}{4}$ measure, but the values of the notes—which gives a sharply brilliant effect. The man at length turns his spinning girl under his arm, and the dance abruptly ceases. This passing of the woman under the man's arm occurs again and again all along the Pyrenean chain, from Catalonia with its Farandole, to the Basque country with its Aurreku, and seems a choreographic acknowledgment of her position. There is a Swedish dance in which the belief in woman's inferiority (a notion with which the peasant mind is deeply imbued) is symbolized still more clearly, each man passing a foot over the head of the woman kneeling before him.

Ex. 8

La Castagne (The Chestnut)

Very lively



Noted by S.B. at Castillon

Up at the very head of the Lez valley lies Sentein, the "last village in France", as these mountaineers love to say, although such an idea would never occur to a visitor confronted with the precipices and snows behind which Spain lies so unattainably. At Sentein the Bourrée swings its circle to a variety of airs, some of which, while I was there, were sung by the village butcher during an evening's dancing. Snow lay outside coldly gleaming, and the deeply rutted road down to Castillon seemed alien and distasteful, to say the least. Here within, under the joints of mutton and the sausages hanging from the beams of the butcher's shop, which was also his kitchen, a log fire burned cheerfully, and the neighbors dropped in one by one as news of the foreigner's visit flew round the village. The butcher's lady brewed strong coffee, and heady red wine was put on the table for the guests. There was no musician handy, so they resorted to the antique method and the butcher himself became the human musical instrument. I learned the *Traversée* and a few steps of the Sentein Bourrée, while everyone was busy assuring me it was quite impos-

sible to do so, as nowhere was so difficult a dance to be found. (Pride of possession invariably calls forth such an affirmation.) Afterwards, to my surprise, I found that the Bourrée tune I had added to my notes was a version of that well known song *La Bepa*. "Little Josephine" is sung in both Spanish and French Catalonia, and tells the tale of a young girl who, on her marriage day, was abducted by a Moor and carried off to the South, calling upon her brothers to rescue her. It was strange to find it so far from the coast, for no traditions exist of the dark invader's having set foot in the valley of the Lez; but, as we know, folk tunes are good travellers.

Ex. 9

La Bepa—Ballad

A la tor - re xi - ca, a la tor - re gran, y' a un - a

Be - pa que l'es - ti - man tant. Bo - ni - ca es la ro - sa, mes bon - ic lo ram.

Noted by V.A. in Catalonia

At the little tower and at the great tower
Lives little Josephine whom we all love.
Sweet is the rose,
Sweeter the branch.

When I finally left that homely mountain household, the snowy road was frozen hard as iron and the winter sky was brilliant with stars that did actually give a diffused light—a thing rare enough, though we like to talk of starlight. The friendly people, as unlike the "dirty Ariègeois" as they could possibly be, crowded round to say good-bye.

"*Quelle jolie soirée*", exclaimed these simple and delightful souls, whose manners were allegedly "like the bear's". So charming an evening stands out among my Pyrenean memories.

The great event in the lives of these mountain folk is the day of their marriage. To understand its importance we must examine for an instant their mode of living, its difficulties and duties, which differ immensely from life in the plains. Formerly almost everything,

from candles to clothes, was home-made, and the more self-contained a household could be the less money it spent and the better off were its inhabitants. Nowadays, when great lorries from Toulouse roar up the valleys, the hardest stress of life is over. Nevertheless, peasant households hate to spend. If they have the time and the hands to do so, they still prefer to make all they possibly can. And here we come to the immense importance of choosing a wife and raising a family. The more hands the lighter the work, we say. But they say: The more hands the more work. The more sons the less hired labor, the more sheep shepherded, the more land under cultivation, the more to eat, the more to sell. The whole outlook of the peasant, even today, can be summed up in that one antique word that has come down to us from the old earth gods and their devotees—fertility.

So a man's marriage must be set about with the greatest caution and the most careful preparation. And there is one principle that may guide him in the making of his selection, that will seem strange to most of us. It would, of course, hardly be acknowledged; yet when I came to study the matter, all unbelieving as I was, I had no difficulty in arriving at the truth. In the Basque villages far away to the west, it is an understood thing that young girls may have lovers before marriage. A girl is thought none the worse if she has a baby or two of her own treading on the heels of her youngest brothers and sisters. I often passed the farm whence came my hardworking Basque maid, and frequently saw her mother at the door, a stalwart infant on her arm. "This", she announced without mincing the matter, "is our youngest." That summed up the situation exactly. It was their youngest, but my Mayi was its mother. A famous and early student of this ancient race wrote in 1801, "Immorality among unmarried persons is very frequent, much more so than in Castile . . . and girls who have 'fallen' find husbands without difficulty, in many cases more easily."³ All along the Pyrenees one finds the same principle, though perhaps less openly adhered to.

One has only to study the love-songs of the mountains to realize how far these people are from the romanticism of the Nordic races. From all the wealth of English folk-song, I can at this moment recall but one that treats of the subject of midnight visits by a lad to his lass. The magnificent airs of the Basque *Anderea ideki dazu* and

³ Wilhelm von Humboldt, "Diary of the Basque Journey" [1801]. English translation publ., San Sebastian, 1925.

Argizagi ederra match their passionate verses, and these find their equivalent, though both air and verse are simpler and quieter, in the English "Come, open the door, Sweet Betty". Of the amused cynicism of hundreds of such Pyrenean songs as the following Aubade from Alto Aragon there is not, in English folk-song, one trace:

<i>No t'espantes muyto, Emilia,</i>	Don't alarm yourself over-much, Emilia,
<i>Si puyo por la ventana;</i>	If I climb in at the window;
<i>Ja m'en tornaré a bajar</i>	I'll turn and get down
<i>Cuando a tu te de la gana.</i>	Whenever you want me to.

There is crudity, to be sure, in the English songs as in others, for the folk never shrink from calling a spade a spade. But, unless one sees a faithful notation of the original of a song, this is lost nowadays in the too carefully expunged collections from which much of the salt and savor of the soil have been extracted. In any case, as I have said, the immense majority of British songs end on the romantically moral note of a village wedding.

The very next morning I made her my bride
 Soon after the breaking of day;
 The bells they did ring and the birds they did sing,
 When I crowned her sweet Queen of the May.

Or, with real poetic feeling:

For I am thine and thou art mine,
 No man shall uncomf'ort thee,
 We'll join our hands in wedded bands
 And married we will be.

Or again, with sterling good sense:

Come, come, my dear girl, to the church let's away,
 And we will be married without more delay;
 For I've riches in store when you are my wife
 To make us contented and happy through life.

Marriage, after all, is exactly what the Pyrenean peasant seeks too, although probably the "dear girl" is not the one through whose window he has climbed with agility, to land on silent, espadrilled feet. No. That girl will find another young man for her husband "without difficulty" and perhaps even "more easily", as our early Basque student justly remarked, for, in the words of a Spanish Basque author, the husband of a girl-mother is assured that "*la ternera hara buena vaca.*" He has proof that his wife can be a joyful mother of children and that the ancestral lands will not lack

workers. The convention does not spring from real immorality, but from a more primitive outlook than ours, engendered by stern necessity.

In our Ariège uplands the Bethmale valley lost this archaic outlook during the 19th century. Young women from those high pastures were much sought after as wet-nurses in rich Toulouse families, on account of both their healthy dispositions and their striking costume, which looked so well in the gardens of the capitol, or on the walks by the side of the Garonne. So, lured by high wages, the Bethmale girls were actually encouraged to have babies—and then to leave them for the children of strangers and townsfolk. The sturdy race suffered from this odious misunderstanding of ancient ways and now, I am glad to say, the disappearance of the costume has caused the practice to disappear also.

When a Bethmale man begins his preparations for his wedding, he employs the long winter evenings for the making of his bride's sabots. They look like a couple of miniature boats when he has cut them from two blocks of beech-wood, boats of the Viking type, with extraordinarily high prows. And these points grow higher and higher, up to nine inches from the ground, according to the esteem he feels for his *nubio*. Great nails protect the soles and cause the little boats to rock, the springing prows are decorated with brass stud nails, and an instep-piece of metal is tacked on, adorned with beautiful little designs according to the young man's fancy. In the old days, before metal forks and spoons were so cheaply obtainable, he made his household implements also. So the shepherds do still, using their long days with their flocks to cut articles from beech and box-wood—for box grows into stout little trees on these heights. What these shepherds make are real works of rustic art, not only excellent in form, but decorated with religious subjects, pagan and Christian, crosses and solar symbols, minute Virgins and antique fertility signs. Advantage is taken of every curve and knot in the wood, so that a little hollowing out produces the *sanjo*, or wooden beaker,—handle and all—or the *cuelhe*, a wide spoon beautifully fashioned in walnut wood. The enormous wool-sacks must be stitched, ready for the sheep-shearing, so that the new household may have wool in store for mattresses and for selling (of the surplus) at Castillon fair, where the sacks, higher than a man's head, are set up in rows. The *Nubio* prepares her trousseau and exhibits it as fully as possible in open baskets so that

all may envy the number of chemises and hand-knitted stockings—and silk ones too. Thus skilfully displayed, it is transported to her new home.

Young men with swords in their hands once accompanied the bride, and today their name of *Espaseros* is applied to the bridal attendants, both men and girls. These have special duties to perform, the men taking the bride her shoes, stockings, and garters, the girls her other clothes and bedding. As a reward they are given a black hen, partly plucked but much alive—we are in a country where cruelty to animals is not regarded as cruelty at all—and with its naked spaces covered with paper roses replacing the feathers it would so willingly have kept. On the eve of the great day this gay company of *Espaseros* and the bridegroom himself bring the trousseau to the door, when a song of many verses is sung, the people inside the new house commanding:

E tanco l'y la porto, pourtier?
Demando l'y ce qu'en porto?

Shut the door on them porter,
Ask what they bring.

The company outside enumerates every object in turn, until at last *Le joi d'amour bous pourto, nubio*, We bring you the jewel of love, bride, Whereupon the door is flung open to them. But the bride herself is nowhere to be seen. She must be searched for all over the house, and likely enough is hidden among the hay in the cowshed, or in the huge chest that serves as a flour bin. Next day, in the church itself, the ceremonial black hen must be made to squawk during the bridal mass, and, if it refuses in spite of wily pinches, the man who carries it must do the squawking himself. As the party returns, it has to run the gauntlet of the *Sègue*, which, once a barricade of brambles, is now a more elegant sash stretched across the road, only to be passed on payment of a coin or offers of free drinks. And then the bride is led into the new house, shown the great kitchen cupboard by her mother-in-law, who displays the bread and wine with which it is stored, and is led to the cauldron hanging on its chain over the fire, which in peasant houses never goes out. Thus were Roman brides presented to the household gods who watched over the fire, which here is still the life of the house. But, as I inferred apropos of funerary customs, we must, when dealing with Pyreneans, go beyond Roman rites to those of the Indo-European peoples from whom both the Pyreneans and the Romans themselves sprang. After

the approach to the fire the feasting begins, with such mountains of food as perhaps you never saw. And then the singing breaks out, sometimes of improvisations, sometimes of such splendid old ballads as that of the three reapers who went to reap a Spanish harvest, the youngest of whom was beguiled by the dark-eyed lady of the castle in Spain. The fine air of this ballad was used long since as a rallying song for the rebels in the uprising of those Catalan countrymen who, armed with scythes, were known as the "Segadors". It was then annexed by the autonomists of that same unrestful country and supplied with a set of politico-national verses entirely unworthy of its simple grandeur. So that, when I tried to discover a Catalan version of the ballad of the reapers, nobody knew what I meant. I heard the modern usurping verses, however, again and again. Now these too are on the way to oblivion, under the weight of rival reds and whites⁴ who care nothing for the hard-won independence of Catalonia.

Ex. 10

La Cantson des Segadous (Song of the Reapers)

Que n'è - ron tres se - ga - - dous, Qu'a - na - bon se -

ga en Es - pa - gno, Que n'è - ron tres se - ga - dous,

Qu'a - na - bon se - ga - en Es - pa - gno.

Noted by V.A. and S.B. at Massat

*Que n'eron tres ségadous
Qu'anabon sega en Espagno.*

*Les mes joubenot de tous
A tout debant que n'anabo.*

*Qu'en pourtabo l'anel d'or,
E la faux soubardauro.*

*La segnouro d'aquel loc
Que s'en es enamourado.*

There were once three reapers
Who went to reap in Spain.

The youngest of them all
Was he who marched in front.

He wore a golden ring,
And carried a gilded scythe.

The Lady of the place
Then fell in love with him.

Being of a passionate southern temperament, she saw no reason for allowing dignity to stand in her way and sent her cousin to fetch the

⁴ Miss Alford's article was written before the close of the Spanish Civil War.—Ed.

handsome young stranger from over the mountains. "Which of them must I bring?" asks the cousin, who only seeks to please the great lady in whose castle she lives as a poor relation and maid of honor. "The one with the golden ring and the gilded scythe", replies the Señora, and pushes the girl towards the door. With surprise the handsome young man receives the message. He modestly follows his guide into the great court, where never had he dared to venture, follows her up the wide staircase and into the lady's presence. Shyly he gazes about him, at the ornate Spanish furniture, the many-colored *azulejos*—those Moorish tiles that decorate Spanish chambers—and at the lady herself, who no doubt is well worth looking at. Raking the young fellow with her ardent dark eyes, she asks:

*Segadou, bel Segadou
Segarios-me la cibado?*

Reaper, oh handsome reaper
Will you reap my barley?

And to make her meaning plain she adds:

*Te far'no soupo en croux
Que sera molt empebrado.*

He shall have a special soup made for him, which shall be strongly peppered. There can be no mistake now, for is this not the chosen aphrodisiac of the Pyrenees, and shall we not see it in preparation at the end of our present-day wedding festivities, at which this ancient song is sung? Through nineteen verses his reprehensible employer beguiles him, until in the twentieth the honest young man repulses her, crying out that there at home over the high mountains he has a wife and child.

Our Ariège wedding party will now roar together some such well known air as this:

Ex. 11

Aqueres Mountagnes (These Mountains)

Da-que-res moun-ta-gnesqui-ta hau-tes soun, m'em-pè-chen de...

be-de mas a-mous'oun soun. Si can-ti you que can-ti, can-

ti-pas per you, Can-ti per ma mi-e qu'ey an-près de you.

Noted by V.A. Béarnais version

These mountains which are so high
Prevent my seeing where is my love.
If I sing, I who am singing,
I sing not for myself, but for my love beside me.

Then, having eaten and drunk their fill, the younger members will solemnly two-step round and round the great kitchen or the bough-bedecked barn, until *les vieux* can stand it no more and, forgetting their rheumatism and urged on by the strong red wine—which “works”, as they say—, call for an old Country dance to a charming old tune.

Ex. 12

La Trompeuse – Country Dance



Noted by S. B. Saurat variant

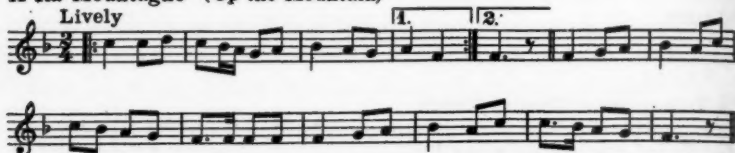
This is the Ariège variant of an air known as far west as Béarn. It is generally used for the dance-game, *Yan Petit*, which requires so much agility that it is left to the young men. These, at a given word, tap on the ground with finger, knee, nose, or head, springing up to perform an *entrechat* or other step on the very next beat, before swaggering round the usual ring. At our wedding, however, the tune is used for a “longways-for-as-many-as-will” type of dance, the men facing the women, which is known as *La Trompeuse* or, in the *langue d’oc*, *La Trompouso*. The *jeunesse*, in reality nothing loath, yet afraid of losing their reputation as *très moderne*, dash into the lines, and from them into the more popular Bourrée circle. Some wag will assuredly begin the sung Bourrée that is so appropriate as a warning to a new husband.

In case the first allusion in this song is not generally understood today, I must mention that the donkey-ride, face towards the tail, was a well known punishment for unfaithful wives as long ago as the classic civilisations, and has been carried on ever since with the chief actor herself in person, or latterly by proxy, still seated upon the ass. The spreading horns, mentioned in one part of the piece as marring fertility, need no comment, but we may turn back for a

moment to the bridegrooms whose duty it is to light the mid-summer fire. Our wedding guests in the valley of the Lez, unaware that by singing of the horns they are carrying on an ancient Greek custom, make the rafters ring with the story of the young wife, who in spite of her mother's warning went a-dancing, not in "Le Grand Bar et Dancing", as she would today, but *a ra mountagno*.

Ex. 13

A Ra Mountagno (Up the Mountain)



Bourrée air from Ariège. Noted by V.A.

*A ra mountagno, ma maïre,
A ra mountagno,
Jogon de binloun, ma maïre
Qu'en jogon de builoun.*

*Se tu bas dansa, ma hillo
Se tu bas dansa,
Toun marich t'en battra, ma hillo,
Toun marich t'en battra.*

*S'em bat qu'em batto, ma maïre,
S'em bat qu'em batto
You m'y tournaré, ma maïre,
You be m'y tournaré.*

*Se tu t'y tournos, ma hillo
Se tu t'y tournos,
L'ase ben courrera, ma hillo
L'ase ben courrera.*

*S'en cour qu'en courro, ma maïre,
S'en cour qu'en courro.*

Up on the mountain, mother,
Up on the mountain,
They are playing the fiddle, mother,
They are playing the fiddle.

If you go dancing, my daughter,
If you go dancing,
Your husband will beat you my daughter,
Your husband will beat you.

Let him beat if he will, mother,
Let him beat if he will.
I'll turn and beat back, mother,
I'll turn and beat back.

If you beat back, my daughter,
If you beat back,
The ass will run, my daughter,
The ass will run.

Here one version says the ass shall carry horns on his head, another makes the undutiful daughter return compliments with a vengeance, which in all its crudity means, "he jolly well ran for you".

When the newly married couple finally slink out of the dancing,

Per bous ben a courrut,

singing, drinking crowd, can they be left in peace? Not even then. Tradition demands the brewing of that soup, *molt empebrado*, which has to be carried to the bridal room by the whole hilarious company, musicians and all. And not only carried there, but administered by hand. There is no escape, for this is the famous *Roste*, which is the finishing touch at all weddings along the chain of the Pyrenees.

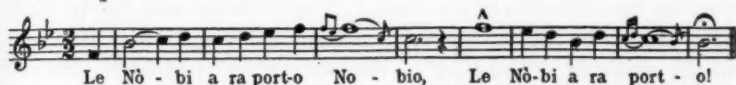
Pourtan la roste aus espous,

Let's take the roast to the married pair

Que bam bède s'en soun gaujous.

To see if they are happy.

Ex. 14



From G. Poueigh, Chansons Populaires
des Pyrénées Françaises

The bridegroom at the door, O bride,
The bridegroom at the door.

CURRENT CHRONICLE

COPLAND—HARRIS—SCHUMAN

By PAUL ROSENFELD

AMERICAN music has a playboy! This little truth is one of the upshots of the present season, which was rich in performances of exceptional new works by American composers. The playboy is no other than our old friend Aaron Copland. Three of the noteworthy new pieces are his: "An Outdoor Overture", which he composed for the orchestra of the High School of Music and Art in New York; the ballet "Billy the Kid", written for The Ballet Caravan; and the music for "The City", a documentary and didactic film intended for The World's Fair, on which Henwar Rodakiewicz, Lewis Mumford, and other pictorial and literary artists have collaborated. All three pieces charm with evidence of the natural musicianship of their brilliant and able composer (Copland probably is the most generously gifted composer among living Americans) and of his subtly sensuous style, and with reflections of his relaxation and steady ability to entertain himself. And all three, to our mind at least, suggest the carefree, exuberant, facile diffusion of energies so characteristic of the playboy spirit.

Their artistic intentions are not very lofty, certainly not in comparison with those of Copland's earlier and significant pieces. Not only are their materials sometimes lacking in distinction. Their feeling frequently remains perilously close to the surface of things. In spots they even appear altogether innocent of artistic intentions. Still, the composition of Copland's that is utterly devoid of beauty has not yet appeared. Take the music for "The City". In the final section, where the film projects the harmoniously spaced, green garden-cities of the future, the music consists entirely of the mechanical alternation of a couple of fluting, placid, and quite static pastoral tunes. The score, it would appear, should have leaped a bit and shimmered there. Certainly, it should not, as actually it does, have made for irritation by reason of this resourcelessness. The brilliant final flourish comes as a relief. To be sure, the photography also repeats itself in the last section. All the more reason for regretting the lack of artistic alertness that might have enabled the music to lift

"The City" over these dead spots. None the less, appropriately not symphonic, the score in certain passages has a light but distinct aesthetic quality. The first portion, which synchronizes with the film's nostalgic New England section, not only actively supports the drama but introduces us to a good instance of Copland's bitonal, bitter-sweet melodic style. And in the face of certain reminiscences of *Pacific 231*, the fine somberness of the second portion, coinciding with the photographer's imaginative representation of the squalor and confusion of the present monster-towns, also contributes to the circumstances making the film equal to the best documentary ones.

"An Outdoor Overture" is a more ambitious and frequently charming and engaging little piece. The thematic material, including a march-subject, is slight, to be sure, in instances verging upon commonness. But it immerses us in a reality, the swarming world of school-excursions and school-holidays. The artistic intentions, however, are casual. With the recapitulation-section the invention and the poetry come to an end, the aesthetic emotion is interrupted. Repetitions of the march-subject make its vulgarity blatant: we are only too willing to quit this picnic. The composer, of course, was writing for a high-school orchestra and has followed the classic scheme of the overture. Yet neither of these considerations justifies his tasteless recapitulations, particularly in view of the circumstance that his exposition-section is dynamic and characterized by contrasts in *tempi*. And this exposition actually has symphonic breadth and a free feeling; and the broadly-spaced and very characteristic cantilenas for the brass, the playful and lyrical passages for wood-winds, by no means are unworthy of the composer of the majestic pages of the "Symphonic Ode"—the memorable introductory section and the slow movement.

As for the most serious and artistic of Copland's new pieces, the ballet of "Billy the Kid": at the utmost it is a work of talent and of virtuosity. It never lays serious hold of the mobility of life, certainly not to any degree comparable with that to which the great Stravinsky ballets and even *Les Matelôts* by Auric succeed in doing. We are scarcely, if ever, carried inside the subject—it is most relevant to our time, the career of a little killer, cast in the mould of the legend of the famous bad-man of New Mexico, Billy Bonney "the Kid". An external, picturesque affair, the score's approach to his situation is

half pitying and half ironical. In fact, it "kids" it in the sense that the music remains a sly, distant sign of the infantilism of the hero and the pathos of his predicament: he cannot mature and strikes down, one after the other, different agents of the law in whom he sees the man who snatched his mother from him. And, superficial as our aesthetic enjoyment is, it is not even uninterrupted. The muted waltz set to the pathetic scene between Billy and his baffled sweetheart, moves over static basses and weakens the tension previously sustained by the score. Still, all in all the piece has dramatic suspense, and is full of suave, novel, witty, at moments touching choreographic music. The furious, extended dialogue of the percussion and the stuttering brasses, which accompanies the battle between the outlaws and the posse is prime gunfire-music and capital fun. The opening and closing general dances even have epic touches.

All three of the new pieces have still other positive qualities. All three exhibit Copland's knack with popular rhythms; and his spare, elegant and none the less colored instrumentation, and his structural style, so free from "trick" doublings and embellishments, are as delightful here as in his earlier works. And we hear bits of his piercing, pure, and wistful lyricism. For all their tenuity, too, these newcomers have the great virtue of Copland's more recent compositions: freshness, breeziness, relaxation. Throughout at least the first half of the Overture we inhale fresh air and see blue skies; and the orchestra of "Billy the Kid" sings out its rhythmic variants of Western ballad-tunes without strain and with much gaiety. An engaging little suite for secondary musical occasions might easily, it would appear, be extracted from the score. Puritans themselves, we surmise, could not fail to be amused by this natural musician's wit, irony, and carnival spirit. Thus Copland seems still to be standing at the fork in the highroad, the two branches of which lead respectively to popular and to artistic success.

What immediately suggests itself is the question: If Copland should achieve a popular success, would the event create circumstances favorable to the revival of his really significant pieces, at present so shamefully neglected by conductors and ensembles? We refer to compositions like the early "Symphony", the "Symphonic Ode", the "Short Symphony"—recently performed in a version for piano and wood-wind sextet—, the piano-trio "Vitebsk", and the "Piano Variations". Doubtless they have *their* formal weaknesses, these pieces

preceding "The Second Hurricane", the little play-opera in which Copland for the first time—on this occasion with excellent results—simplified his style, purging his harmonic texture of its harshnesses and his rhythmic figures of some of their complexity. For one thing, the schemes of these works seem somewhat arbitrarily mosaical. Their composer, it would appear, has to some extent preconceived the various transformations of his thematic material. The compositions at times give the impression of being arrangements of these transfigurations. Again, they occasionally display a tendency to the overuse of their materials; and the two circumstances in combination render certain passages sluggish. Yet, in the very face of their defects, these works stand eminent among those in which American music—forever, it is our hope—left the region of provincialism. They are definitely original, indisputably the products of a musician with a personal, unmistakable style: the indebtedness to Stravinsky was very slight. Here we have pure music, possessing absolute interest as the combination and interweaving of the essential—as contrasted with the expressive—qualities of instrumental tones: the works harmoniously combine these tones with quite individual nuances—now wiry, now lapidary, now metallic. Their characteristic coloration is aristocratically sober, almost a *grisaille* (our mind's eye perceives a blend of whites, greys, sage-greens, and, in the "Piano Variations", blacks). And their characteristic motion is grand, oftentimes elevated, but the grandeur is singularly nervous, spare, lean, stripped of all but essentials, and curiously American. They are built up architecturally, express their feeling by means of formal relations, and abound in plastic themes—*staccato*, *martellato*, cock-crow—, dynamic punch, a sometimes hard intensity, and lines that fairly spring. The idiom occasionally is Hebraic. Still the contrast between the Hebraic music of Bloch and a piece like Copland's extremely polytonal, poignant, lively little trio on Yiddish themes, named "Vitebsk", is complete and tantamount to the contrast between two worlds and two periods. The Copland piece is wiry and bare, a thing of delicately interfused sonorities, swift of motion, precise, and soberly eloquent.

On the whole, these compositions exhibit a fine resourcefulness in the economic use and transformation of material. Wide in range of feeling they certainly are not: again and again we encounter adolescent wistfulness, mechanistic dance-rhythms, the piping falsetto of sarcasm, humor, and burlesque, and occasionally a tragic

pathos. (Copland to an extent discovered these nostalgic and ironic moods in the jazz he commenced idealizing in his "Piano Concerto". Still, they haunted the music prior to this symphonic jazz: they are in the plaintive prelude of his "First Symphony" and in the hic-coughing rhythm of its scherzo.) But, however limited the range of feeling, the nervous and emotional tension is tremendous, sometimes verging on the painful and paroxysmal. And again and again this earlier music has a swelling, prophetic note scarcely to be matched in the range of contemporary music. Above all, its intense drive communicates feeling, direct and inward for all its narrowness, setting us amid the pressures of urban existence, making us feel the strait channels and steep walls of the giant cities, their force and constraint, the struggle and energy of the generations growing up amid them.

It would be wonderful to hear these symphonic works again. The pity is that the possibility of Copland's popular success, which we now face, doesn't definitely include the promise of their full appreciation and revival. On the contrary! What alone would seem to contain a strong promise of a fuller currency for his fine works is the possibility that he may again achieve a highly artistic composition, lovely with the freshness and exuberance that distinguish the better portions of the "Overture" and "Billy the Kid", but intense with all the old drive, inwardness, ethical impulse, and austere artistic intentions that ennoble "Vitebsk", the "Ode", and the "Short Symphony". And if we must envisage the first possibility, happily we have no valid reason for entirely disregarding the second one.



The evil times doubtless are not specially propitious to the human translation of the divine moments—the mystic moments of the soul—which we call beauty. Proof of the truth that despite their balefulness the times are not prohibitive of them is another of the upshots of the present season. Two of the exceptional new pieces presented in its course have the inwardness and indescribable glamour—in this instance a dark one—which distinguish work issuing from the region beyond the will. At the least, one of them affords the opportunity for a sustained, complete absorption and aesthetic enjoyment in the manner which is characteristic of the masterpiece. This pair of compositions consists of the "Third Symphony" and the "Soliloquy and Dance" for piano and viola by Roy Harris.

Inwardness, and glamour to a certain extent, long have individualized this composer's work. His is a deep nature. Classical, contrapuntal, and always highly endeavoring, though less demonstrative of natural talents than Copland's, his singing music at first was technically less resourceful, less sensuous and intellectual than his brilliant coeval's. Still from the first it exhibited the glow of an internal necessity equalled by that of no American composer. And a freshness of the heart informed his tones with a fine spaciousness, evocativeness, poetry. Its feeling was wider than Copland's, comprehensive of tragedy and eloquent of it in mournful accents and melodies. (Indubitably, the "Symphony 1933" supports Serge Koussevitzky's verdict that it is the first tragic American symphony.) This rich pathos meanwhile had a distinct folk-quality, naturally present where Harris exploited the idiom of the American folk-song, but discernible also in passages without folk-tune bases. At moments it evoked a racial past: the "Tears" section of the "Symphony for Voices" recalled nothing quite so much as an Irish wake. Again, the style was American by virtue of its frequent swiftness and dynamism and its racy, whooping *crescendi*; most infectiously so in breezy, humoristic, irregularly rhythmical pages, such as those of the Piano Sonata's fugal scherzo. Quite naïvely Harris had begun searching for an American style; but it was only while he was studying with Nadia Boulanger that the evident differences between the spirit of life in Europe and in America made him conscious of the reason for his search. And in combination the tragedy, folk-feeling, and poetry, the heroic cast of certain percussive themes and the melodic sweep and grandeur of many passages, at times gave his music a bardic, well-nigh epic character. The limitless feeling of the plains, the fierce impulses and frustrations of the American migrations, the long patience of the poor, often seem to sound in it.

What weaknesses these earlier pieces had flowed mainly from a certain slackness which, doubled by an uncertain technique, occasionally made for *longueurs*. Whole movements had rhapsodic sweep and magic: the introduction, scherzo, and coda of the Piano Sonata, the exuberant first and last movements of the String Sextet—the finale, in fact, is Harris's closest approach to intoxication—and the gloriously unfolding little fugue in the Piano Trio. Others were poor: the slower *tempi* almost invariably went hand in hand with a somewhat vague and wandering music of undecided lineage. The

solemn sweetish harmonic substance recalled César Franck at his weakest; for a while it seemed that instances of sinewy, racy, original music could occur in Harris only in conjunction with fast *tempi*. Not before the second String Quartet did he manage to produce a slow movement the match of his better faster ones. And while his compositions as wholes were dynamic in form, the initial impulses did not invariably sustain themselves. In instances like the "Symphony 1933" the impetus maintained itself through two movements, strong despite their lapses, and weakened in the third. In others, such as the Trio, it failed in the middle movement, and surprisingly recovered itself in the finale. Aesthetic emotion, thus, was not uninterrupted. There were evidences also of over-ambitiousness in certain unrealized intentions. The insufficiently worked-up Amerindian drum-beat of the "Symphony 1933" is an instance. But Harris is one of those rare fellows who love music profoundly. In recent years he has acquired a prodigious technique. Today he is the master of a resourceful counterpoint.

Science and an inner drive both are distinctly perceptible in the two new works. Indeed, they were perceptible in the important piece preceding the new pair, the Piano Quintet, which was repeated at the beginning of the season. The tight melodic web of the opening movement and its powerful plasticity, dynamism of thought, and sustained glow, make this *passacaglia* a sort of flowing granite. The varying diversions of the fugal *finale* are beautifully moulded and poetic. The master-*stretto* is monumental and magnificently sonorous. Only the middle movement, the *Cadenza*, with its extended solo passages, appears to temporize somewhat irritatingly. In the new, short "Third Symphony", on the contrary, the formal slackness is minimal and almost exclusively confined to the short finale, which coda-like recapitulates—though with a slightly anticlimactic feeling—some of the dramatic and tragic material of the opening. The strong preceding movements possess a wonderful sweep, long lines, and a rich dark coloring—the result of the knowing exploitation of the lower instrumental *timbres*. The sonorities are clear. The slow opening, for strings alone, has an indefinable glamour, attributable in part to the subtle use of consonance amid a poly-modal material. Possibly the device of presenting the cantilena at the outset without accompaniment, then with fourths and fifths, and lastly with thirds, savors a bit of the trick. But in this instance it

is an effective one. The bitonal pastoral section fairly shimmers with the shifting harmonies of the arpeggiated figures for the strings and the exquisitely modelled and varied little solo melodic phrases sung over these undulations by the wood-winds. The plastic phrases float like microscopic worlds in space. The fugue—fugues are almost the hallmark of Harris's compositions—has immense vigor; the *master-stretto*, as in the Quintet, is deeply stirring. Above all, the swiftly moving form is a dynamic one. It mounts pyramidally. Each of the later sections, and they move organically one into the other, seems to lie on an emotional plane higher than its predecessor. The *stretto*, shining with the full brass, tops the pointed edifice; the *coda*, with its tragic recapitulations, makes for a resolution of the tension. An American symphony by virtue of this form, we think. For this form is intimately expressive of a restless, aggressive people, obliged to struggle for its life and still possessed of an ideal; a people whose feeling for the first time sensitively comprehends the tragedy haunting all human existence.

The piece for viola and piano, the "Soliloquy and Dance"—it is Harris's latest composition—, is wholly beautiful, allowing the listener the opportunity for complete absorption, and has all the earmarks of those images that arise, overnight as it were, from the unconscious. The melodies are fine. The sustained Soliloquy is full of passion and poetry, and has the essential dark-golden color of the viola. The Dance is a wonder, a jocund double fugue on *gigue*-like subjects. The themes, not only in the diversions and the *stretti*, but even in the recapitulation, are subjected to steady transformations. The feeling goes on and on; the vitality and variety seem well-nigh inexhaustible. A kind of *Kermesse* by the peasant-Breughel, this joyous double fugue! If Harris can maintain himself on the level he has attained in it and continue giving us music of a quality as high, he may well awake some fine morning to find himself in the great company of the masters.

* * *

Two other exceptional new American compositions presented during the season have doubled our impression of the talents of a young composer recently the recipient of a Guggenheim scholarship. This is William Schuman, a New Yorker born in 1910. The pieces were his "Second Symphony" and short "Prologue" for orchestra

and chorus. A previous season had brought to light his very shapely Second String Quartet and revealed among other facts the modernity of his style. It is entirely a melodic one. The harmonic consistency is unusually distinguished; the counterpoint is very openly spaced. The Quartet's melodic lines were noticeably long: the middle movement indeed is a piece of beautifully sustained song pervaded by a sensuousness not invariably to be found in modern music. The sonorities are fresh and singularly crystalline. Schuman once had frequented Tin-Pan Alley; there, perhaps, he had developed the virtuosity apparent in his instrumental style. Later he began loathing what he was doing there, loathing what the others were doing, the others he was obliged continually to meet. Then he heard "Till Eulenspiegel" and the Symphony of Franck. Besides, novel sounds haunting his imagination were prompting him to serious work. And Tin-pan Alley suddenly became a thing of the past.

In the Second Symphony his structural style has energy and grandeur. The effects are large and ample, the feeling is elevated. Again the instrumentation is strikingly fresh, plainly that of a musician with a new sonority. The raucous and sensuous sound reflects the world of mechanism and industrial techniques; its closer parallels are in Varèse and Chavez; but it is clear and firm in its own way. One hears it in the lowing, groaning ox-horn-like onset of the piece and the jagged principal subject. The Symphony testifies to the presence of something primitive in the composer's feeling, a fierceness and an earthiness. Indeed, a fixed and almost murderous vehemence seems to express itself in the *ostinato* of the initial movement. And the feeling plainly is unified. To be sure, this seventeen-minute work has been found lacking in rhythmic vitality. The fault must have been the conductor's. The tempo, it is true, is preponderantly *larghissimo*. Still, to one pair of ears, at least, the little work perfectly deserves its title. Its material appeared to be unified and its effects to converge: it seemed to sustain and fully release, through three contrasting and complementary sections, the tension established by the initial impact. While the *ostinato* of the opening movement has an almost painful insistence, it differs thoroughly from that of Ravel's *Boléro*; there is continual melodic contrast and development. The warm, very slow second movement again has the unmistakable accent of passion and achieves a small climax. And while there seem to be a couple of repetitious measures in the *finale*, the

movement builds up strongly to the end. One has the sense of some force, originally fixed and deadly, which is subjected to a new incarnation, and finally moves joyously unified and with a gesture of embrace out towards life.

The "Prologue", to a little verse by Genevieve Taggard, is far slighter than the Symphony and even displays a good American tendency to the rhetorical and grandiose. (The Indians of the Plains had it, long before Carl Sandburg. It exhibited itself in the names they gave themselves. And we elude it with difficulty only.) But the piece has affecting lyrical moments. Certain luminous effects again point to Schuman's instrumental sense. And, shot with a feeling of hope, the "Prologue" transfers to us the young hopefulness of the composer.



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PREPARED BY EDWARD N. WATERS

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SIROLA, BOŽIDAR

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QUARTERLY RECORD-LIST



PREPARED BY PHILIP MILLER

ASIATIC-RUSSIAN FOLKSONGS (Arr.

Steinberg)

Complainte d'Abdurachman; Chanson d'amour du Turkestan; Dudar-Ai; Altai. Lydia Chaliapin, c; orch. con. Julius Ehrlich. Columbia P-4230M-31M.

BACH, C. P. E.

Concerto, orchestra, D major (Arr. Steinberg). Boston Sym. Orch. con. Serge Koussevitzky. Victor M-559.

BACH, JOHANN SEBASTIAN (See also

Beethoven, Gabrilowitsch and Vatican Records)

Concerto, 2 violins, D minor. Hermann Diener, vln; Charlotte Hampe, vln; Collegium Musicum Orch. Electrola EH 1217-18.

Ouverture à la manière française (Partita no. 7). Ernst Victor Wolff, hpschd. Columbia set 357.

Sonata, flute, A minor. René Le Roy, fl. unacc. Musicraft set 32.

Toccat and Fugue, D minor. Edouard Commette, o, Cathedral of St. Jean, Lyons. Columbia 69490D.

BACH, WILHELM FRIEDEMANN

Symphony, D minor: Adagio; Allegro. Hamburg Phil. Chamber Orch. con. Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt. Telefunken E 2599.

BARTÓK, BÉLA (See also Columbia History of Music)

Three Rondos on Folk Tunes; Roumanian Folk Dances. Lili Kraus, pf. English Parlophone R 20434-35.

BASQUE FOLK MUSIC

Aurtxoa seaskan (L'Enfant au berceau) (Arr. Olaiola). Pepita Enbil, c; male quart. *Ama begira zazu (Mamam, regardez sur la place)* (Arr. Zubizareta). Chorale Basque Eresoruka. con. G. Olaiola. *Jaiki-Jaiki! (Debout)* (Arr. Olaiola); *Akera ikusi degu (J'ai vu le bouc).*

(Arr. Guridi); *Im Eree (Trois Rois Mages)* (Arr. Guridi). Chorale Basque Eresoinka. con. G. Olaiola. French Gramophone K 8293-94.

BAX, ARNOLD (See also Columbia History of Music)

Raun of Exile. Reverse: *Speak, Music* (Elgar). Peter Dawson, bs; Gerald Moore, pf. English Gramophone B 8866.

BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN (See also Fantasias)

Concerto, piano, no. 4, G major, op. 58. Walter Gieseking, pf; Saxonian State Opera Orch. con. Karl Böhm. German Columbia LWX 288-91.

Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur, op. 48, no. 4. Reverse: *Dem Unendlichen* (Schubert). Heinrich Schlusnus, bar. Polydor 67467.

Fidelio: Overture, op. 72b. London Phil. Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. Columbia 69545D.

Quartet, strings, op. 13, no. 2, G major. Budapest Quartet. Electrola DB 3631-33.

Quartet, strings, op. 18, no. 5, A major. Stross-Quartet. Polydor 15298-99.

Sonata, piano, op. 53, C major (Waldstein). Walter Gieseking, pf. Columbia set 358.

Sonata, piano, op. 57, F minor (Appassionata). Walter Gieseking, pf. Columbia set 365.

Sonata, piano, op. 106, B-flat major (Hammerklavier). Louis Kentner, pf. English Columbia DX 912-16.

Symphony, no. 1, C major, op. 21. Reverse: *Tragische Ouverture, op. 81* (Brahms). B. B. C. Sym. Orch. con. Arturo Toscanini. Victor M-507.

Symphony, no. 4, B-flat major, op. 60. Concertgebouw Orch., Amsterdam. con. Willem Mengelberg. Telefunken SK 2794-97.

Symphony, no. 8, F major, op. 93. Concertgebouw Orch., Amsterdam. con. Willem Mengelberg. Telefunken SK 2760-62.

Trio, strings, op. 9, no. 1, G major. Pasquier Trio. English Columbia DX 909-11.

Trio, strings, op. 9, no. 1, G major. Mara Sebriansky, vln; Edward Neikrug, vla; George Neikrug, vlc. Musicraft set 28.

Der Wachtelschlag; Andenken. Heinrich Schlusnus, bar; Sebastian Peschko, pf. Polydor 67251.

Wiener Tänze; Egmont: Larghetto (Entr'acte no. 2). London Phil. Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. Columbia set X-133.

BERLIOZ, HECTOR

Le Carnaval romain, overture, op. 9. Sym. orch. con. Eugène Bigot. Victor 12436.

BIZET, GEORGES (See also Rossini)

Carmen: La fleur que tu m'avais jetée. Reverse: *Manon: Le Réve.* Jussi Björling, t; orch. con. Nils Grevillius. French Gramophone DB 3603.

BLISS, ARTHUR

Sonata, viola and piano. Watson Forbes, vla; Myers Foggin, pf. English Decca X 233-35.

BLOCH, ERNEST

Baal Shem: Nigun. Nathan Milstein, vln; Leopold Mittmann, pf. Columbia 17134D.

Concerto grosso, piano and string orchestra. Reverse: *Canzonetta for string orchestra, op. 62A.* (Sibelius). Curtis Chamber Music Ensemble. con. Louis Bailly. Victor M-563.

BOCCHERINI, LUIGI

Concerto, violoncello, B-flat major (Arr. Grützmacher). Tibor von Machulla, vlc; Berlin Phil. Chamber Orch. con. Hans von Benda. Telefunken E 2778-79.

BOELLMANN, LEON

Suite Gothique, op. 25; Toccata. Reverse: *Toccata (Gigout).* Edouard Commette, o, Cathedral of St. Jean, Lyons. Columbia 69523D.

BORODIN, ALEXANDER (See Wagner)

BOSTON "POPS" CONCERT

Russlan and Ludmilla: Overture (Glinka); *Deep River* (Arr. Burleigh and Jacchia); *Nobody Knows de Trouble I've Seen* (Arr. Jacchia); *Five Miniatures* (Paul White); *Doctrinen Waltz, op. 79* (Eduard Strauss); *Goyescas: Intermezzo* (Granados); *Eugen Onegin: Polonaise* (Tchaikovsky). Boston "Pops" Orch. con. Arthur Fiedler. Victor M-554.

BRAHMS, JOHANNES (See also Beethoven and Fantasias)

Concerto, piano, no. 1, D minor, op. 15. Arthur Schnabel, pf; London Phil. Orch. con. Georg Szell. English Gramophone DB 3712-17.

Deutsche Volkslieder: Schwesterlein; Wach' auf, mein Herzensschöne; Es steht ein' Lind; Feinsliebchen, du sollst; Maria ging aus wandern; Mein Mäd'el hat einen Rosenmund; Erlaube mir, fein's Mädchen; Da unten im Tale; Die Sonne scheint nicht mehr. Ernst Wolff, bar; pf. acc. by himself. Columbia set X-128.

Gestillte Sehnsucht, op. 91, no. 1; Geistliches Wiegenlied, op. 91, no. 2. Friedel Beckmann, c; Karl Reitz, vla; Bruno Seidler-Winkler, pf. Electrola EH 1245.

Gestillte Sehnsucht, op. 91, no. 1; Geistliches Wiegenlied, op. 91, no. 2. Nancy Evans, c; Max Gilbert, vla; Meyers Foggin, pf. English Decca K 901-2.

Quintet, piano and strings, op. 34, F minor. Rudolf Serkin, pf; Busch Quartet. English Gramophone DB 3694-98.

Sonata, violin and piano, no. 2, A major, op. 100. Emil Telmányi, vln; George Vasarhelyi. German Gramophone DB 4640-41.

Sonata, violoncello and piano, no. 1, E minor, op. 38. Gregor Piatigorsky, vlc; Arthur Rubinstein, pf. Victor M-564.

Songs of Brahms: Rhapsody for alto solo, chorus and orchestra, op. 53; Dein blaues Auge, op. 59, no. 8; Der Schmied, op. 19, no. 4; Immer leiser wird mein Schlummer, op. 105, no. 2. Marian Anderson, c; Philadelphia Orch. University of Penn. Choral Soc. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor M-555.

Variations on a theme by Haydn, op. 56a. London Phil. Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. Columbia set X-125.

BRUCKNER, ANTON

Herbstlied. Regensburger Domchor. Reverse: *Im Himmelreich ein Haus steht*, op. 111 (Reger). Aachener Domchor. Electrola EG 6530.

BURLEIGH, HARRY T. (See Boston "Pops" Concert)

BURMESTER, WILLY (See Paganini)

BUSONI, FERRUCCIO

Élégie, no. 2, All' Italia (in modo Napolitano); *Albumblatt, no. 3.* Egon Petri, pf. English Columbia LX 792.

CAIN, NOBLE

Rarely comest thou. Augustana Choir, unacc. con. Henry Veld. Victor 1902.

CASADESUS, HENRI

Les Récréations de la Campagne. La Société des Instruments Anciens. Columbia set X-132.

CASELLA, ALFREDO (See Columbia History of Music)

CESTI, MARCANTONIO

Il Pomo d'oro: Ah! quanto e vero. M. Angelici, s; hpschd; orch. Reverse: *La Nitteti: Rondo di Nitteti; Air d'Amagi* (Sacchini). M. Angelici, s; Yvon Le Marc' Hadour, t; orch. con. Ruggiero Gerlin. Anthologie Sonore 82.

CHABRIER, EMMANUEL (See French Piano Music)

CHADWICK, GEORGE W. (See Griffes)

CHAUSSON, ERNEST (See Jacobson)

CHOPIN, FREDERIC

Berceuse, op. 57, D-flat major; Nocturne, op. 9, no. 2, E-flat major. Raoul Koczalski, pf. Polydor 67246.

Concerto, piano, no. 2, F minor, op. 21. Alfred Cortot, pf; orch. con. John Barbirolli. English Gramophone DB 2612-15.

Eccossaises, op. 72, no. 3; Waltz, op. 18, E-flat major. Alexander Brailowski, pf. English Gramophone DB 3706.

Études, op. 10. Edward Kilenyi, pf. Columbia set 368.

Études, op. 25. Raoul Koczalski, pf. Polydor 67242-45.

Impromptu, op. 36, F-sharp major; Fantaisie-Impromptu, op. 66, C-sharp minor. Raoul Koczalski, pf. Polydor 67248.

Sonata, piano, no. 3, B minor, op. 58. Alexander Brailowski, pf. Victor M-548.

Waltz, op. 64, no. 2, C-sharp minor; Nocturne, op. 15, no. 2, F-sharp major. Ignace Jan Paderewski, pf. English Gramophone DB 3711.

Waltz, op. 18, E-flat major. Reverse: Romanze, A-flat major. K. Anh. 205 (Mozart). Lubka Kolesa, pf. Electrola DB 4654.

CLÉRAMBAULT, LOUIS NICOLAS (See Vatican Records)

COLUMBIA HISTORY OF MUSIC, VOL. 5.

Sospiri, op. 70 (Elgar). Sym. orch. and harp. con. Walter Goehr. *Der Bürger als Edelmann, op. 60: Intermezzo* (Strauss). Sym. orch. con. Malcolm Sargent. *Six Epigraphes antiques: no. 3* (Debussy). Max Pirani, pf; Eric Grant, pf. *Shéhérazade: The Enchanted Flute* (Ravel). Rose Walter, s; orch. *Communion Service in G minor: Kyrie* (Vaughan Williams). Westminster Abbey Choir. con. Ernest Bullock. *Paeon* (Bax). Harriet Cohen, pf. *I Breathed the Breath of Blossoms Red* (Mahler). Charles Kullman, t; orch. con. Malcolm Sargent. *Buch der hängende Gärten: no. 5; no. 12* (Schönberg). Erica Storm, s; pf. *Symphony no. 3* (or *Serenade*) (Milhaud). Sym. orch. con. Walter Goehr. *Tarantella* (from *Serenata*) (Casella). Jean Pougnet, vln; Anthony Pini, vlc; Reginald Kell, clar; Paul Draper, bsn; George Eskdale, trpt. *Scherzo for viola and cello* (Hindemith). Paul Hindemith, vla; Emanuel Feuermann, vlc. *Tombeau de Debussy: Homage* (Fallá). Albert Harris, guitar. *Les Noces: Excerpt* (Stravinsky). Kate Winter, s; Linda Seymour, c; Parry Jones, t; Roy Henderson, bar; Percussion orch. con. Igor Stravinsky. *Mikrokosmos: Staccato*;

Ostinato (Bartók). Béla Bartók, pf. *Octandre: Third Movement* (Varèse). Fl; clar; ob; bsn; hrn; trpt. tbn; str. bass. con. Walter Goehr. *Duo for two violins in the Sixth-tone system: First Movement.* (Haba). Wiesmeyer and Stein, vlms. Columbia set 361.

COPLAND, AARON

El Salón México. Reverse: *Song of the Volga Boatmen* (Arr. Stravinsky). Boston Sym. Orch. con. Serge Koussevitzky. Victor M-546.

DANDRIEU, JEAN-FRANÇOIS (See *Vatican Records*)

DEBUSSY, CLAUDE (See also *Columbia History of Music and French Piano Music*)

Études. Adolph Hallis, pf. English Decca K 891-96.

Prélude à l'Après-midi d'un faune. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. English Columbia LX 805.

Réverie. Reverse: *Ständchen*, op. 17, no. 2 (Strauss, Arr. Giesecking). Walter Giesecking, pf. Columbia 17138D.

Sonata no. 2, trio. Marcel Moyse, fl; Alice Merkel, vla; Lily Laskine, hp. French Gramophone L 1066-67.

DELIBES, LEO

Le Roi l'a dit: Overture. London Phil. Orch. con. Constant Lambert. English Gramophone C 3080.

DELIUS, FREDERICK

Delius Society, Vol. 3: Appalachia; Hassan: Closing Scene; Irmelin: Intermezzo; Koanga: La Calinda. London Phil. Orch. B. B. C. Chorus. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia set 355.

DIAZ DE LA PENA, EUGENE

Benvenuto Cellini: De Part, splendeur immortelle. Reverse: *Patrie: Jadis elles chantaient gaiement* (Paladilhe). Emilio de Gogorza, baritone; orch. (Acoustic recording). International Record Collectors' Club 141.

DOHNANYI, ERNO VON

Quartet, strings, no. 2, D-flat major, op. 15. Roth Quartet. Columbia set 367.

DONIZETTI, GAETANO

Lucia di Lammermoor: Ardon gli incensi. Reverse: *Rigoletto: Caro nome* (Verdi). Lina Aimaro, s; orch. Columbia 69489D.

DUFAY, GUILLAUME

Christe redemptor omnium; Ave Maris Stella; Tantum ergo. Reverse: *Incipit oratio Jeremiae* (Palestrina). Paraphonistes de Saint Jean des Matines. con. Guillaume de Van. Lumen 32054.

DVORAK, ANTONIN (See also *Smetana*)

Quartet, strings, no. 3, E-flat major, op. 51. Lener Quartet. English Columbia LX 793-96.

Sonatina, violin and piano, op. 100, G major. Ossy Renardy, vln; Walter Robert, pf. Columbia set X-129.

ELGAR, SIR EDWARD (See *Bax and Columbia History of Music*)

FALLA, MANUEL DE (See also

Columbia History of Music)
Siete Canciones populares españolas: no. 4, Jota. Reverse: *Don Quijote de la Mancha: Consejo* (J. Obradors). Lucrezia Bori, s; George Copeland, pf. Victor 1978.

FANTASIAS, ALBUM OF

Fantasia in C major (Haydn); *Three Fantastic Dances* (Shostakovich); *Fantasia in G minor, op. 77* (Beethoven); *Fantasiestück in A-flat major, op. 111, no. 2* (Schumann); *Intermezzo in E major, op. 116, no. 4* (Brahms); *Fantasia in B minor, no. 28* (Scriabin). Grace Castagnetta, pf. Timely set 5-CF.

FAURÉ, GABRIEL (See *French Piano Music*)

FRANÇAIX, JEAN

Sonatine, 1934. Josef Gingold, vln; Liza Elman, pf. Friends of Recorded Music 25.

Trio, strings, 1933, C major. Pasquier Trio. Columbia set X-130.

FRANCK, CESAR

Pièce héroïque. Edouard Commette, o, Cathedral of St. Jean, Lyons. Columbia 69460D.

FRENCH FOLK-SONGS

Le Pauvre étonneur (vielle acc.); *Le Chevrier dans la montagne* (piccolo acc.); *Chanson de labour-nivernais* (unacc.); *Chanson de la laine* (vielle acc.); *Lou bouié* (flute acc.); *Chanson de l'aveine* (viol. acc.); *Le Rémouleur* (vielle acc.); *Les Tilloliers* (piccolo acc.); *Les Marins de Grox* (vielle acc.); *Margaridette se regard* (flute acc.); *Plantons la vigne* (vielle acc.); *Les Tisserands* (cornemuse acc.); *Scions de la Plancha* (vielle acc.). Martial Singher, bar; Renée Mahé, s. Florilège 101-6.

FRENCH PIANO MUSIC

Barcarolle no. 5, op. 66 (Fauré); *Nocturne en forme de valse, op. 40, no. 2* (Pierné); *Baigneuses au soleil* (Séverac); *Bourrée fantasque*; *Idyll* (Chabrier); *Les Sons et les parfums tournent dans l'air du soir* (Debussy). Emma Boynet, pf. Victor M-549.

GABRILOWITSCH, OSSIP

Good-Bye, op. 14, no. 1. Reverse: If Thou be Near (Bist du bei mir) (Bach). Richard Crooks, t; orch. con. Wilfred Pelletier. Victor 1912.

GALUPPI, BALDASSARE

Sonata, D major. Jacob Feuertrug, pf. Timely 1513.

GASPARINI, QUIRINO (See Mozart)

GERSHWIN, GEORGE

Cuban overture; An American in Paris; Rhapsody no. 2. Rosa Linda, pf; Roy Bargy, pf; Paul Whiteman Concert Orch. Brunswick 0141-44.

GIGOUT, EUGÈNE (See Boellmann)

GLINKA, MICHAEL (See also

Boston "Pops" Concert)
Doubt. Feodor Chaliapin, bs; Lucien Schwartz, vln; Jean Bazilevsky, pf. Reverse: Night (Folk-song). Feodor Chaliapin, bs; Jean Bazilevsky, pf. Victor 15422.

GRANADOS, ENRIQUE (See also

Boston "Pops" Concert)
12 Danzas españolas. Guillermo Cazes, pf. Decca 20653-58.

GRECHANINOV, ALEXANDER (See Musorgsky)

GRÉTRY, ANDRÉ

Danses villageoises: Richard Coeur de Lion: Danse rustique; Colinette à la Cour: Gavotte; Danse en rond; L'Épreuve villageoise: Gigue; La Rosière de Salency: Entr'acte; L'Embarras de richesses: Contredanse. Reverse: Saltarelle (Vieuxtemps). Orch. Symphonique. con. F. Ruhlmann. Columbia set X-126.

GRIEG, EDVARD

Norwegian dances, op. 35, nos. 1, 4. Orch. Symphonique. con. F. Ruhlmann. Columbia P-69409D.

Papillon, op. 43, no. 1; Oisillon, op. 43, no. 4; Wedding day at Troldhaugen, op. 65, no. 6. Hilda Bor, pf. English Columbia FB 2147.

GRIFFES, CHARLES T.

Two Sketches (based on Indian themes). Quartet, strings, E minor: Andante Semplice (Chadwick). Coolidge quartet. Victor M-558.

HABA, ALOIS (See Columbia History of Music)

HAHN, REYNALDO

D'une prison. Reverse: Visions (Tonerna) (Sjöberg, arr. Balogh). Lotte Lehmann, s; Erno Balogh, pf. Victor 1972.

HALVORSEN, JOHAN (See Ravel)

HANDEL, GEORG FRIEDRICH (See also

Mozart and Vatican Records)
Concerto grosso, op. 6, no. 5, D major. London Sym. Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. English Columbia LX 803-4.

Messiah: Comfort ye, my people; Ev'ry valley shall be exalted. Webster Booth, t; orch. English Gramophone C 3087.

Sonata no. 6, G minor. Mitchell Miller, ob; Yella Pessl. hpschd. Victor 15378.

HAYDN, JOSEPH (See also Fantasias)

Haydn Quartet Society, Vol. 3: op. 3, no. 5, F major; op. 33, no. 2, E-flat major; op. 64, no. 6, E-flat major; op. 71, no. 1, B-flat major. Vol. 4: op. 20, no. 5, M minor; op. 50, no. 3, E-flat major; op. 76, no. 3, C major (Emperor). Vol. 5: op. 20, no. 4, D major; op. 74, no. 2, F major; op. 77, no. 2, F major. Vol. 6: op. 1, no. 6, C major; op. 54, no.

3, *E major*; op. 55, no. 1, *A major*; op. 64, no. 4, *G major*. Pro Arte Quartet. Victor M-525, M-526, M-527, M-528.

Quartet, op. 64, no. 5, *D major* (*The Lark*). Riele Queling Quartet. Electrola EH 1248-49.

Sonatas, piano: *C major*; *E minor*; *D major*. Jacob Feuerring, pf. Timely set 6-M.

Symphonies: no. 80, *D minor*; no. 67, *F major* (Ed. Alfred Einstein). New Friends of Music Orch. con. Fritz Stiedry. Victor M-536.

Symphony no. 86, *D major*. London Sym. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. English Gramophone DB 3467-69.

Symphony no. 92, *G major* (*Oxford*). Paris Conservatoire Orch. con. Bruno Walter. French Gramophone DB 3559-61.

Symphony no. 94, *G major* (*Surprise*). Columbia Broadcasting Sym. Orch. con. Howard Barlow. Columbia set 363.

Symphony no. 100, *G major* (*Military*). National Broadcasting Sym. Orch. con. Arturo Toscanini. Italian Gramophone DB 3515-17.

HERBERT, VICTOR

Album of Victor Herbert Melodies: *Naughty Marietta: Ah! sweet mystery of life; I'm falling in love with someone; 'Neath the Southern moon; Italian street song. Fortune Teller: Gypsy love song; Romany life; Czardas. Mademoiselle Modiste: Kiss me again. Badinage; Air de Ballet; Al fresco. Babes in Toyland: March of the toys; In the toymaker's workshop; Never mind, Bo-Peep; Go to sleep, slumber deep; Toyland; I can't do that sum. Sweethearts: While on parade; For every lover must meet his fate; The Angelus; Jeanette and her little wooden shoes; Sweethearts waltz. The Red Mill: For every day is ladies' day; Isle of my dreams; When you're pretty; Whistling song; Moonbeams shining: Because you're you; The streets of New York. Anne Jamison, s; Jan Pearce, t; Tom Thomas, bar; Victor Salon Group. con. Nathaniel Shilkret. Victor C-33.*

HINDEMITH, PAUL (See also Columbia History of Music)

Sonata, viola and piano, op. 11, no. 4. William Primrose, vla; Jesús María Sanromá, pf. Victor M-547.

JACCHIA, A. (See Boston "Pops" Concert)

JACOBSON, MYRON

Chanson de Marie Antoinette. Les Papillons (Chausson). Lily Pons, s; Frank La Forge, pf. Reverse: *Pastorale; Bird Song* (La Forge). Lily Pons, s; Frances Blaisdell, fl; Frank La Forge, pf. Victor 1913.

KASTALSKY, ALEXANDER

We sing to Thee. Reverse: *The Nightingale*. (Alabieff). Don Cossack Choir. con. Serge Jaroff. Columbia 17136D.

KILPINEN, YARJÖ

Käköä Kuullessa, op. 7, no. 2 (Beim Kukuksruf). Reverse: *Tulin onneni yrttitarhaan* (Folk-song). Aulikki Rautawaara, s; Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt. Telefunken A 2542.

KUHLAU, FRIEDRICH

Trio movement for flute, violin and piano, op. 119b, *G major*. Danish Quartet. Danish Gramophone DB 5226.

LA FORGE, FRANK (See Jacobson)

LAZAR, FILIPE (See Mozart)

LEHMANN, LIZA (See Tchaikovsky)

LEMBCKE, G. A. (See Strauss, R.)

LISZT, FRANZ

Concerto, piano, no. 1, *E-flat*. Emil Sauer, pf; Paris Conservatoire Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. English Columbia LX 789-91.

Concerto, piano, no. 2, *A major*; *Gretchen am Spinnrade* (Schubert-Liszt). Egon Petri, pf; London Phil. Orch. con. Leslie Heward. Columbia set 362.

Consolation no. 3, *D-flat major*; *Valse oubliée* no. 1. Emil Sauer, pf. English Columbia LX 807.

Hungarian Fantasia. Edward Kilenyi, pf; Paris Sym. Orch. con. Selmar Meyerowitz. Columbia set X-120.

O quand je dors. Reverse: *Wiegenlied-Schlaf ein, holdes Kind* (Wagner). Eli-

sabeth Schumann, s; orch. con. Walter Goehr. English Gramophone DB 3654.

Rigoletto Paraphrase. (Verdi-Liszt). Sigfrid Grundeis, pf. German Odeon O-26277.

Totentanz. Edward Kilenyi, pf; Paris Sym. orch. con. Selmar Meyrowitz. Columbia set X-122.

LOEFFLER, CHARLES MARTIN

Music for four stringed instruments. Coolidge Quartet. Victor M-543.

LORTZING, ALBERT

Zar und Zimmermann: Overture. Berlin State Opera Orch. con. Alois Melichar. Polydor 11058.

MCDONALD, HARL

Concerto for two pianos and orchestra. Jeanne Behrend, pf; Alexander Kellner, pf; Philadelphia Orch. con. Leopold Stokowski. Victor M-557.

Symphony no. 3: Cakewalk (Scherzo). Reverse: *Amelia goes to the ball: Overture* (Menotti). Philadelphia Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor 15377.

MAHLER, GUSTAV (See *Columbia History of Music*)

MASSNET, JULES (See *Bizet*)

MENDELSSOHN, FELIX (See also *Schumann*)

Concerto, piano, no. 1, G minor, op. 25. Ania Dorfmann, pf; London Sym. Orch. con. Walter Goehr. Columbia set X-124.

Elijah: If with all your hearts; Then shall the righteous. Webster Booth, t; orch. English Gramophone C 3095.

MENOTTI, GIAN CARLO (See *McDonald*)

MEYERBEER, GIACOMO

Les Huguenots: Bénédiction des poignards. Reverse: *Patrie: Pauvre martyr* (Paladilhe). Jean François Delmas, bar; orch. (Acoustic recording, 1905). English Parlophone PO 128.

MILHAUD, DARIUS (See also *Columbia History of Music*)

Scaramouche. Marcelle Meyer, pf; Darius Milhaud, pf. French Gramophone DB 5086.

MOZART, WOLFGANG AMADEUS (See also *Chopin*)

Ave verum corpus, K.618. Reverse: *A-doramus te, Christe* (Gasparini). Strasbourg Cathedral Choir. con. Alphonse Hoch. Columbia 69488D.

Concerto, piano, no. 24, C minor, K.491. Robert Casadesu, pf; Paris Sym. Orch. con. Eugène Bigot. Columbia set 356.

Concerto, violin, no. 4, D major, K.218. Fritz Kreisler, vln; orch. con. Malcolm Sargent. English Gramophone DB 3734-36.

Divertimento, K.563, E-flat major. Pasquier Trio. Columbia set 351.

Die Entführung aus dem Serail: Hier soll ich dich denn sehen; Die Zauberflöte: Bildnisarie. Leo Slezak, t. (Acoustic recording). Historic Record Society 1034.

L'Épreuve d'amour (Arr. Seitz). London Phil. Orch. con. Efreim Kurtz. Columbia 69560D.

Fantasia, K.475, C minor; Sonata, K.457, C minor. Lili Krauss, pf. English Parlophone R 20438-41.

Quartet, strings, K.387, G major. Calvet Quartet. Telefunken E 2867-68.

Rondo, piano, K.485, D major. Reverse: *Waldesrauschen* (Liszt). Louis Kentner, pf. English Columbia DX 908.

Rondo, piano, K.511, A minor. Ignace Jan Paderewski, pf. Victor 15421.

Serenade, K.250, D major: Rondo (Arr. Kreisler). Fritz Kreisler, vln; Franz Rupp, pf. English Gramophone DB 3731.

Sonata, piano, 1770. Reverse: *Sonata, op. 15: Marche funèbre* (Lazar). Jose Iturbi, pf. Victor M-565.

Sonata, violin and piano, K.454, B-flat major. Magda Tagliafero, pf; Denise Soriano, vln. Columbia set X-131.

Symphony no. 31, D major, K.297 (Paris). Reverse: *The Gods go a-begging: Ballet* (Handel-Beecham). London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia set 360.

Symphony no. 26, C major, K. 425 (Linz). London Phil. Orch. con Sir Thomas Beecham. English Columbia LX 797-99. LXS 800.

MUSORGSKY, MODESTE

Hopak. Reverse: Over the Steppe (Grechaninov). Igor Gorin, bar; orch. con. Wilfred Pelletier. Victor 4414.

NEGRO SINFUL SONGS

Frankie and Albert; Looky, looky yonder; Black Betty; Yellow women's door bells; Ain't goin' down to the well no mo'; Go down, old Hannah; Poor Howard; Green Corn; Fannin Street; The Boll Weevil; De Kalb Blues; The Gallis Pole; The Bourgeois Blues. Lead Belly, accompanying himself on the twelve-string guitar. Musicraft set 31.

ORRADORS, J. (See Falla)

PACHELBEL, JOHANN (See Torelli)

PAGANINI, NICCOLO

Fantasia on the G-string, after Rossini's Mosè. Yehudi Menuhin, vln. Italian Gramophone DB 3499.

Sonata no. 12, E minor. Reverse: Sere-nade (Burmester). Ossy Renardy, vln; Walter Robert, pf. Columbia 17132D.

Sonata no. 12, E minor. Reverse: Martini Andantino (Kreisler). Mario Ruminelli, vln; G. Ruminelli, pf. Italian Gramophone GW 1679.

PALADILHE, EMILE (See Diaz and Meyer-beer)

PALESTRINA, GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA (See Dufay and Vatican Records)

PERGOLESI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA

Stabat Mater (Ed. Gustav Schreck). Vienna Choir Boys; orch; hpschd. con. Viktor Gomboz. Victor M-545.

PIERNÉ, GABRIEL (See French Piano Music)

POULENC, FRANCIS

Mass in G major. Les Chanteurs de Lyon. con. E. Bourmauck. Columbia set X-126.

RACHMANINOFF, SERGE

Étude tableau, op. 33, no. 1, F major;

Prelude, op. 32, no. 12, G-sharp minor. Reverse: Étude, op. 2, no. 1; Prelude, op. 11, no. 2 (Scriabin). Anatole Kitain, pf. Columbia 69569D.

RAMEAU, JEAN PHILIPPE

Airs de Ballet: Hippolyte et Aricie: Prologue (Marche); Dardanus, Act 3, Air gai en rondeau; Les Indes galantes: Tambourins; Plâtée: Act 2, Menuets; Les Indes galantes: Danse du grand calumet et de la paix (Rondeau); Plâtée: Act 2, Air. Orch; hpschd. con. Ruggiero Gerlin. Anthologie Sonore 81.

Ballet Pieces for Orchestra: Plâtée: Menuet; Les Fêtes d'Hébé: Musette and Tambourin. Reverse: Tambourin (Leclair). Boston "Pops" Orch. con. Arthur Fiedler. Victor 4431-32.

La Cupis; Tambourins; La Timide; L'Indiscrète; La Pantomime. Georges Barrère, fl; Carlos Salzedo, hp; Horace Britt, vlc. Victor 1975-76.

RAVEL, MAURICE (See also Columbia History of Music)

Bolero. Reverse: March of the Boyards (Halvorsen). Boston "Pops" Orch. con. Arthur Fiedler. Victor M-552.

Miroirs: no. 4. Alborado del Gracioso. Walter Gieseking, pf. Columbia 17137D.

Miroirs: no. 4. Alborado del Gracioso. Jesús María Sanromá, pf. Victor 4425.

REGER, MAX (See Bruckner)

RESPIGHI, OTTORINO

Impressione brasiliane. Munich Phil. Orch. con. Oswald Rabasta. Electrola DB 4643-44.

ROSSINI, GIOACCHINO (See also Paganini)

Il Barbiere di Siviglia: Largo al factotum. Reverse: Non è ver (Mattei). Igor Gorin, bar; orch. con. Wilfred Pelletier. Victor 12437.

La Scala di Seta: Overture. E.I.A.R. Symphony Orch, Turin. con. La Rosa Parodi. English Parlophone E 11409.

William Tell: Selva opaca, deserta brughiera. Reverse: Les Pêcheurs de perles: Cavatina di Leila (Bizet). Lina Pagliughi, s; orch. English Parlophone E 11406.

SACCHINI, ANTONIO MARIA (See *Cesti*)

SAINT-SAËNS, CAMILLE

Caprice arabe, op. 96. Jose Iturbi, pf; Amparo Iturbi, pf. Victor 15366.

Sonata, violoncello and piano, no. 2, F major, op. 123; *Romanza*; *Scherzo*. Paul Bazelaire, vlc; Isidor Philipp, pf. Columbia set X-119.

SCARLATTI, DOMENICO

Sonatas: Longo 205, C major; *Longo* 352, C minor; *Longo* 490, G major. Jacob Feuerring, pf. Timely 1312.

SCHOENBERG, ARNOLD (See *Columbia History of Music*)SCHUBERT, FRANZ (See also *Beethoven*)

Impromptu, op. 90, no. 2, E-flat major; *Andante, A major*. Eileen Joyce, pf. English Parlophone E 11403.

Symphony no. 4, C minor (Tragic). N. Y. Philharmonic-Symphony Orch. con. John Barbiroli. Victor M-562.

Symphony no. 5, B-flat major. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia set 366.

SCHULZ, SVEND S.

Concertino, flute, violin, violoncello and piano. Danish Quartet. Danish Gramophone DB 5227.

SCHUMANN, ROBERT (See also *Fantasias and Schubert*)

Duets: Er und sie, op. 78, no. 2; *Ich denke dein*, op. 78, no. 3; *Familien-Gemälde*, op. 34, no. 4; *So wahr die Sonne scheinet*, op. 37, no. 12; *Unterm Fenster*, op. 34, no. 3. (Arr. Bruno Reibold). Lotte Lehmann, s; Lauritz Melchior, t; orch. con. Bruno Reibold. Victor M-560.

Carnaval, op. 9. Myra Hess, pf. Victor M-476.

Carnaval: Ballet suite (Arr. Douglas). London Phil. Orch. con. Walter Goehr. Columbia 69461D.

Die Davidsbündlertänze, op. 6. Kurt Appelbaum, pf. Musicraft set 30.

Sonata, violin and piano, op. 105, A minor. Adolf Busch, vln; Rudolf Serkin, pf. Victor M-551.

Sonata, violin and piano, op. 105, A

minor. Leo Petroni, vln; Michael Rauchenstein, pf. Electrola EH 1237-38.

SCRIABIN, ALEXANDER (See *Fantasias and Rachmaninoff*)SÉVÉRAC, DÉODAT DE (See *French Piano Music*)SHOSTAKOVICH, DMITRI (See *Fantasias*)

SMETANA, BEDŘICH

Prodana Nevesta: Ich weiss Euch einen lieben Schatz. Johanna Gadschi, s; Albert Reiss, t; pf. Reverse: *Siegfried: Zwangvolle Plage!* (Wagner). Albert Reiss, t; orch. (Acoustic recordings). International Record Collector's Club 140.

SMYTH, DAME ETHEL

Fête galante: Minuet; Two Interlinked French Folk Melodies. Light Sym. Orch. con. Sir Adrian Boult. English Gramophone DB 3762.

SPALDING, ALBERT

Dragon Fly. Albert Spalding, vln; unacc. Reverse: *Danse du Diable vert* (Cassado). Albert Spalding, vln; André Benoit, pf. Victor 1914.

SPANISH FLAMENCOS

Seguidillas; Peteneras; Saetas. (with guitar); *Alegrias* (with trumpets, cornets and drums). La Nina de los Peines. Columbia 413M, 412M.

SPOHR, LOUIS

Concerto, violin, no. 8, A minor, op. 47. Albert Spalding, vln; Philadelphia Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor M-544.

STRAUSS, EDUARD (See *Boston "Pops" Concert*)

STRAUSS, JOHANN

Die Fledermaus: Overture. Saxonian State Orch. con. Karl Böhm. Electrola DB 4638.

Viennese Music of Johann Strauss: An der schönen blauen Donau, op. 314; *Kaiser-Walzer*, op. 437; *Pizzicato Polka* (Josef and Johann Strauss); *Radetzky-Marsch*, op. 228 (Johann Strauss, Sr.); *Die Fledermaus: Brüderlein und Schwesterlein; Die Fledermaus: Czardas*; op. 56. (Arr. Viktor Gombos). Vienna Choir Boys; pf. con. Viktor Gombos. Victor M-561.

Der Zigeunerbaron: Overture. London Sym. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. English Gramophone DB 3650.

STRAUSS, RICHARD (See also *Columbia History of Music and Debussy*)

Ich trage meine Minne, op. 32, no. 1; Traum durch die Dämmerung, op. 29, no. 1. Peter Anders, t; Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Walter Lutze. Telefunken A2782.

Traum durch die Dämmerung, op. 29, no. 1. Reverse: *Mailed* (Lembcke). Lauritz Melchior, t; Ignace Strassfogel, pf. Victor 1980.

STRAVINSKY, IGOR (See *Columbia History of Music and Copland*)

SUK, JOSEF

Sokol March. Czech Phil. Orch. con. Vaclav Talich. English Gramophone B 888g.

TCHAIKOVSKY, PETER ILICH (See also *Boston "Pops" Concert*)

La Belle au bois dormant: Ballet. Sadlers' Wells Orch. con. Constant Lambert. English Gramophone C 3081-83.

Eugen Onegin: Polonaise; Waltz. Berlin State Opera Orch. con. Robert Heger. German Odeon O-26270.

Pilgrim's Song, op. 47, no. 5. Reverse: *In a Persian Garden: Myself when young.* (Lehmann). Oscar Natzke, bas; Hubert Greenslade, pf. English Parlophone E 11397.

Serenade, string orchestra, op. 48, C major. B.B.C. Sym. Orch. con. Sir Adrian Boult. Victor M-556.

Symphony no. 5, E minor, op. 64. London Phil. Orch. con. Constant Lambert. English Gramophone C 3088-92.

TORELLI, GIUSEPPE

Concerto, op. 6, no. 10. Reverse: *Canon, 3 voices, with bass* (Pachelbel). Berlin Collegium Musicum. con. Hermann Diener. Electrola EH 1231.

VARESE, EDGAR (See *Columbia History of Music*)

VATICAN RECORDS

Prelude and Fugue in F minor (Handel); *Chorale Prelude: In dulci jubilo* (Bach).

Prof. Germani, o. *Musette* (Dandrieu); *Cromorne* (Couperin); *Récit de Crasarde* (Clérambault); Maestro Vignanelli, o. *In paradisum; Benedictus; Ego sum; Libera me* (Gregorian chants); *Alma redemptoris mater; Ave regina coelorum; Regina coeli; Salve regina* (Antiphons). Choir of Capella Giulia. con. Mo. Antonelli. *Improperia: Popule meus* (Palestrina). Choir of Capella Giulia. con. Mo. Boezi. *Responsory: 4. Amicus meus; 5. Judas mercator pessimus; 6. Eram quam agnus; 8. Una hora; 9. Seniores populi; Caligaverunt* (Victoria); *Laudate Dominum* (Palestrina). Choir of Capella Giulia. con. Mo. Antonelli. Italian Odeon 1139, 1142, 1117, 1118, 1116, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1157.

VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, RALPH (See *Columbia History of Music*)

VERDI, GIUSEPPE (See also *Donizetti and Liszt*)

La Forza del Destino: Overture. Munich Phil. Orch. con. Oswald Kabasta. Electrola DB 4642.

Otello: Dio! mi potevi scagliar; Nium mi tema. Giovanni Zenatello, t. (Acoustic recording). English Parlophone PXO 129.

VICTORIA, TOMAS LUIS DE (See *Vatican Records*)

VIEUXTEMPS, HENRI (See *Grétry*)

VITALI, TOMMASO ANTONIO

Chaconne. Luigi Silva, vln; pf. Electrola DB 4647.

WAGNER, RICHARD (See also *Liszt and Smetana*)

Siegfried Idyll. London Phil. Orch. con. Felix Weingartner. English Columbia LX 801-2.

Tannhäuser: Overture. Reverse: *Prince Igor: March* (Borodin). London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Columbia set X-123.

Die Walküre: Du bist der Lenz; Lohengrin: Euch, Lüften, die mein Klagen. Kirsten Flagstad, s; Philadelphia Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor 1901.

Die Walküre: Act 2. Lotte Lehmann, s; Lauritz Melchior, t; Hans Hotter, bar; Marta Fuchs, s; Margarete Klose, c; Ella Flesch, s; Alfred Jerger, bs, French Gramophone DB 3719-28.

WALTHEW, RICHARD HENRY

Sonata, viola and piano, D major; A Mosaic in four pieces for viola. Watson Forbes, vla; Myers Foggin, pf. English Decca K 897-98.

WEBER, CARL MARIA VON

Aufforderung zum Tanze, op. 65 (Arr.

Berlioz). B.B.C. Sym. Orch. con. Arturo Toscanini. Victor 15192.

WHITE, PAUL (See Boston "Pops" Concert)

WIENIAWSKI, HENRI

Légende, op. 17. Yehudi Menuhin, vln; Orch. des Concerts Colonne. con. Georges Enesco. Victor 15423.

WOLF, HUGO

Frühling über's Jahr; Dass doch gemalt all' deine Reize wären. Heinrich Schlusnus, bar; pf. Polydor 62799.

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